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From the Glasgow Argus.

### Glasgow Emancipation Society.

On Monday evening the adjourned meeting of the Emancipation Society took place, as advertised in our last, in the Rev. Dr. Heugh's Church. The audience, admitted by tickets, was large and respectable, and the proceedings were listened to throughout with the greatest attention. On the platform, in addition to the Glasgow gentlemen who have all along taken a deep interest in the cause of emancipation, were—George Thompson, Esq., who was advertised to deliver an address on the subject of India; C. L. Remond, Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Keep, from America, Dr. Dick, author of the *Philosophy of the Heavens*, David Macallan, Esq., of Aberdeen, and other gentlemen. On the motion of Mr. John M'Leod, Mr. John Murray, one of the Secretaries of the Society, was called to the chair.

The Chairman shortly stated the object for which they were called together, and expressed a hope that no topic would be introduced different from that which was the declared purpose of the meeting. He then introduced Mr. Thompson to the meeting.

Mr. Thompson said—Sir, I rise to submit the following resolution:—"That it is the solemn duty of the people and government of Great Britain to consider the condition and claims of their fellow-subjects, the natives of British India, and to devise and carry forward such measures as are calculated to better their circumstances and elevate their character; that this duty gathers additional weight and importance from the fact that the existing systems of slavery and the slave trade are mainly dependant for their support upon a demand for certain articles of tropical growth, now obtained by the compulsory labor of persons held in bondage in the United States, Brazil, and elsewhere—articles which the soil of India is fully adequate to produce, by the unconstrained labor of the natives, under a wise and equitable administration of British rule, assisted by the philanthropic exertions of the people of this country. I can with truth declare that I never rise to speak upon the subject on which I have to address you to-night without a feeling of incompetency which almost deprives me of the capacity of exercising the humble powers which I possess. This feeling increases in proportion as my knowledge of the subject increases, and as I perceive more clearly the responsibility and power of this country. I appear before this meeting not merely as a member of the Glasgow Society, which I have the honor to be, but as the representative of the British India Society, consisting of a number of the benevolent friends of India, who are associated for the purpose of diffusing information respecting that country, that they may thereby awaken the attention and sympathies of the British people to the wants of their distant, disfranchised, and helpless fellow-subjects. (cheering.) There is, perhaps, no subject connected with the British Empire, respecting which there is more need of information than that which is brought before you in the resolution I have now submitted to this meeting. On every branch of this subject the public require to be enlightened. Let me name a few of these. The history of that country, prior to the occupation of any portion of it by the British—the history of our acquisitions there during the last seventy years—the constitution and character of the government at home and abroad—the condition and feelings of the entire population—the extent and productions of the soil—the peculiar tenures by which the land of India is held, and the mode by which the revenue of the land is raised; a matter of immense importance—the amount of wealth annually derived from India, and the necessary and natural effect of this draining system upon a country like India—the nature and operation of those monopolies which have been assumed by the British rulers of India, and which affect so deeply and extensively the comfort of the people—the present extent of our trade and commerce with that vast country, and the hindrances which lie in the way of its augmentation—and the relation which this subject bears to the question of slavery, upon which we have been accustomed to meet so frequently, and labor so earnestly—these are all topics of deep interest and importance; and though some may bear a commercial, and others a political aspect, yet they are inseparably connected with the welfare of the native population, and cannot be overlooked, either in our efforts to raise the natives of the east, or break the fetters from the limbs of the captives in the west. (Great cheering.) Therefore it is that I present this resolution. This enumeration will show in some measure the magnitude of the subject I have to discuss, and the variety of the interests connected with it. My resolution says it is the duty of the people and government of this country to consider this question. Much, sir, is implied in that word—consider. I have introduced it advisedly; alone, it fills the place of many others, and suffices for all. All I ask of this audience, all I ask of the public at large, in the first instance, is, that they will for themselves consider the condition and claims of the people of India. (cheers.) When the King of Israel would pronounce a blessing upon the truly benevolent man of his day, and at the same time describe the history, form, and character of his benevolence, he said, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor;" and I commend the promise, in the latter part of the text, to those who are struggling amidst difficulties and poverty themselves—"The Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble." I ask for no transient, sentimental, spasmodic utterance or effort of mere compassionate feeling, called forth by powerful and poetic declamation; but a thoughtful, enlightened, permanent regard—a regard founded upon knowledge and a conviction of duty. (cheers.) I trust to have the opportunity hereafter of assisting you in your inquiries upon this subject. At present I can do but little. I wish to occupy the time to-night, rather by directing your attention to the anti-slavery bearing of the subject, than to any lengthened description of the present actual condition of the natives of India; nevertheless, I will briefly notice the circumstances of the cultivators of the soil generally, and the chief cause of their poverty and wretchedness, which is the revenue system of the country, and, these facts being stated, you will be able to infer the rest from what I shall afterwards advance.—(cheering.) In a Bombay publication, kindly lent me by a gentleman from India, now in this city, I find the great bulk of the inhabitants of the most fertile country in the world—a country said to be under the most enlightened and benevolent government—described as destitute of every thing which consists with comfort, or is entitled to rank above the absolute necessaries of life. For them, says this writer, European manufactures might as well have never been.—They live from hand to mouth, never rising above the most abject poverty and degradation. If the question be asked what has England done for India? the answer is—nothing. The people are depressed, dispirited, and wretched—bowed down to the earth, and ruined under the grinding and desolating system of their rulers. It would be hard, says this writer, for the warmest advocates of "India as it is," to say in what the lot of the slave, under the proprietor or of ordinary humanity, benevolence, or even regard to his own interest, was inferior to that of the poor ryot (cultivator) in this land of liberty and equal justice, where, if he feels at all, he must feel himself doomed to degradation and distress—to suffering and to silence. This truly deplorable state of things is accounted for by this writer, by a reference to the peculiar position of the people under the British Government, and the amount of taxation to which they are subjected; a system so onerous, that, he affirms, however mildly it is executed, it is ever ruinous in its consequences. He quotes the experience of Dr. Gibson, connected with the experimental garden at Hewra, who says, "I have in several instances tried to induce the Ghat people to cultivate the potato, but without success." My belief is, that they dread the imposition of a new tax, in case they cultivate it. For the nature and amount of this tax I refer you to the able memorial of the Glasgow Asiatic Society, recently presented to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. It is a valuable document, and well worthy the attention of all who desire information on the present state of India, and the impediments to the prosperity of the people of that country. The memorial dwells at some length, upon the subject of the Land-tax. It says, the oppressive amount of this tax may be designated—"The greatest evil of British India." After quoting the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, who maintained that, if more than one-third of the produce of land is taken as rent, there can be no private landed property—the memorial proceeds to give the testimony of Parliamentary reports, and distinguished servants of the East India Company, including Lord Teignmouth, and the Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie, in proof of the practice of the East India Company to take one-half, and even three-fifths of the entire produce of the land—thereby, not merely making themselves state landlords, but actually annihilating all private property, and reducing the occupiers and former owners of land to the condition of wretched serfs, who are doomed to labor for the exclusive benefit of the government. Can it be a matter of wonder, that, under such a system, industry languishes—that large tracts of country are abandoned—that once wealthy occupiers are reduced to dependence and want—that the natives should have empty storehouses and empty pockets, and be obliged to resort to the money lenders for seed and subsistence? Is it a matter of wonder that, under such a system, no improvements in agriculture take place—that the natives sink no wells, erect no mounds, construct no roads? Is it a matter of wonder that famines prevail, and sweep off their hundreds of thousands, when nine-tenths of the whole population of India, consisting of one hundred millions, are at all times in a state of destitution, and on the verge of starvation? It is this state of things that we desire to remedy, and the effects would not only be most happy in India, but to other regions. (cheers.) And, first, the benefits of a better system—a system that would unlock the resources of the country, give the cultivator a permanent and profitable interest in the soil, and enable him to realise something more than a mere subsistence, would be experienced, not only on this country, but in those that are desolated, and caused by slavery and the slave trade. (cheers.) The other day the well-known Mr. James M'Queen, late of the *Glasgow Courier*, a gentleman who will not be suspected of exaggerating for anti-slavery purposes, gave evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords to the following effect:—He stated that he had made the progress of the slave trade, since its abolition by England, in 1808, a matter of careful study, and that he was able to state, with a strong degree of confidence in the accuracy of the statement, that there had been carried from the shores of Africa, to Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, the French Colonies, Mexico, and the United States, during the last thirty years, three millions eight hundred and sixty thousand. If this be the number actually imported into the countries named, and I believe the number is rather under than overstated, and we add twenty five per cent for those who perished in the middle passage, and a number equal to the whole, for those murdered on the soil of Africa during the process of the slave trade, before the captives are put on board the slave ship, you have nearly ten millions of human beings either slaughtered or enslaved at the instigation of Christian nations during one generation. (Hear.) If we turn from Africa, and cross the ocean, guided by the blood of the victims of oppression, we reach at length the shores and islands of America, and there we find, north and south, nearly six millions of beings in all but hopeless bondage.—First in the list of men-stealing nations stands the U. States of America—a land claiming to be a Christian land, and I delight to know that, with all its crimes, there are many Christians there. A land boasting that it is the freest under Heaven; and I believe that in many respects it is. (cheers.) A land in which the language of freedom is spoken, where the martyrs of freedom have bled—a land that has so much in it and about it that is pure, and noble, and generous, that it would make one weep to think there should be so foul a stain as that of slavery upon it. Yes, with all its faults, it is a great and glorious land. (Great cheering.) I have studied its history—I have lived through those scenes of matchless interest which are found in that history—my soul has been thrilled and fired by the deeds and eloquence of the Henrys, the Franklins, the Jays, the Jeffersons, the Hancocks, the Adamses, the Otises, the Livingstons, and the Washingtons, of America. Would, sir, that these men had completed the glorious work they commenced. Would that the blood of the Revolution had made America all "hallowed ground!" Would that the spirit and prowess of the illustrious men whose names I have repeated, had banished the demon of slavery far, far beyond the sacred precincts of the republic they founded, that it might have stood out in all its symmetry, and strength, and purity, before the eyes of the world, without a blot upon its reputation, or an excrescence upon its beauty! (Hear.) But the truth must be told, and my friends from America, who are present, must bear with me while I publish the shame of their country, when I would fain speak only in terms of gratitude, admiration, and love. That land of freedom is a land of slaves. That resting place and asylum for the victims of Kingly oppression contains three millions of men who are the property of men calling themselves republicans, and even Christians. (Hear, hear.) This horrible system of cruelty and crime exerts its bloody and brutalising dominion from the banks of the Potomac to the banks of the Colorada, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the upper waters of the Ohio. Throughout this vast region every particle of matter seems tinged with blood, and steeped with tears—the echoes are awakened by the utterance of the sounds of lamentation and woe and bitter crying. Each native production is nurtured and ripened under the influence of the most rigorous oppression—the very ministers of the religion of Jesus are themselves the tormentors of their own species, and the defenders of robbery and soul murder. The proud, magnanimous, and life-giving spirit of republicanism succumbs to the base and sordid passions of the slave merchant—the principles of everlasting justice exist in name, but have no local habitation; the spirit of genuine benevolence and sympathy is exchanged for the spirit of malevolence and public wrong—the sons of freedom and equality tread down their fellow-men, and plunder of their birthright all who are

> "Guilty of a skin
> Not colored like their own."

The dungeons of three millions of captives are guarded by democrats, who send consecrated banners to Poland and Greece, and observe with noisy festivity the three glorious days of Paris. The earth, once moistened with the blood of the patriots of '76, now drinks the warm gore, drawn from the backs of slaves by the recreant sons of revolutionary heroes. The same city which contains the proud capitol, whose walls ere long shall echo, as they have done a thousand times before, with the praises of liberty, contains, too, the warehouses of the commission brokers of human blood, and an office where men may be licensed to sell women and children by the pound! And this city bears the name of—Washington! And why this horrid inconsistency—this love of a system made up of lust, and cruelty, and blood? It is because the system is profitable. It hath its gains—'tis that by which they live. While it remains profitable, it will be continued, defended, and eulogised as the corner-stone of the republican edifice. Let it become unprofitable, and it will cease to be upheld.

> Thus, thus will trade, unconquered still by time,
> Raise her base voice to cloak the hellish crime;
> Thus will she lift the lash and lifting, smile
> As blood-earned lucre centres in her soil.

I know that pride, a hatred of the men of color, the love of power, and the sinful gratifications connected with slavery, help to maintain the system; but these by themselves would not keep it alive for one year. Three millions of human beings would not be kept in slavery in America to minister to these. No; I repeat it. It is because the system hath its gains that it is cherished, and with these gains, and the guilt of them, you and I have everything to do. Lessen those gains, and the system totters—annihilate them, and it expires. Look back for a moment to the history of our own colonies, and our struggles for their emancipation.—Every year, aye, every day, is making it more apparent to the world at large, (though it was apparent to a few long before,) that our "pains and penalties," in the cause of negro emancipation in the colonies of Great Britain, might have been spared, if we had adopted a different commercial system. Slavery in the West Indies was based on sugar; in the United States it is based on cotton. If, twenty years ago, we had gone to the East, upon a system of free labor and equal duties, our agitation, petitioning, electioneering, and paying twenty millions, would all have been rendered unnecessary. But no. Though the palm, the maple, the beet, and the sugar cane in other countries would have freely bled, under the hand of free labor, to give us the sweet syrup, we *would* have it from the cane of the Antilles—we chose to pay a high price—to give heavy drawbacks—to lay on prohibitory duties—and all the while we were preaching, praying, and petitioning against slavery. (hear.) Was there ever greater inconsistency! Be not afraid, my friends, about your sugar. I will give you a few facts which will comfort you while sugar is 10½ per lb. Though the withdrawal of women from the field—the superannuation of the aged and infirm—the sending of the children to the school; the advance of the negro from a laborer to a provision planter, or storekeeper—the unreasonable conduct of grinding proprietors, and the subtle, self-aggrandizing schemes of Attorneys, may occasion a temporary rise in the price of sugar, by diminishing the supply—be not afraid. There are other fields and other climes which will give you sugar. (cheers.) The sugar cane is a native of the East. It was transplanted to the Westward, and led to the curse of slavery in the Antilles, and all the accumulated horrors of the slave trade. From time immemorial its growth has been general throughout Asia. In British India it is a garden plant, constantly used as a vegetable or sweetmeat. Under the present, somewhat better system, its cultivation for exportation is daily extending, and the field is boundless. The vast plain of the Ganges, containing 170,000 square miles, and 15,000,000 of souls, could produce sugar for all Europe. Nor Gangetic India alone—the great and fertile province of Guzerat—the valley of the Nerbudda—the elevated and fertile table land between the two Ghauts—the valleys of the Indus and its tributary streams—these are regions where the sugar cane has grown, does grow, and may be made to grow in quantities to supply all your wants, and enable you to be sugar merchants for all the world. I am now speaking only of British India. I am saying nothing of China, Siam, Tonquin, the Phillippines, or, last, though not least, of Java, the richest and most magnificent of the Eastern Archipelago. Think not, therefore, the days of cheap sugar are past. They are yet to come. (hear, hear.) The sugar mill is already on the banks of the Ganges.—English and Scottish capital is there. Since the equalization of duties, which took place but the other day, the importation of sugar from India has increased from 76,613 cwt. to 519,126. Let me also say that the sugar from the East is the fruit of free labor. It may, therefore, be bought without fear, and consumed without a curse. (cheers.) Agrestic slavery is almost unknown over the fertile plain of the Ganges, where there is throughout a population equal to 265 inhabitants to the square mile.

Now look—as it was our blind and guilty commercial policy that upheld slavery in the West Indies, so it is the preference we give to the slave-grown produce of America that upholds the slavery of that country. As the adoption of a wiser, cheaper, and juster system would have uprooted our own collonial system, and spared us the years of toil and anxiety and strife through which we passed in the cause of emancipation, so the adoption of such a system at the present time would uproot slavery in America—without agitation, without cost, without danger; but on the contrary, with great gain to ourselves, and the saving of an immense amount of fruitless effort on the part of the Abolitionists of America. (cheers.) At this very hour we hire, we reward, we stimulate the slaveholders of America. The very primum mobile of the machinery of oppression and slavery is here—here, in this country and in this city.—(cheering.) The blood guilty men of the United States are but the mere agents of our will and pleasure—the ministers to our cupidity—the hirelings of British merchants. (Loud cheering.) At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States in 1784, there seemed to be a prospect of the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the entire country, and there is no reason to doubt that, but for the cotton trade, slavery would by this time have been almost unknown in that Republic.

Previous to 1789, not a pound of cotton had been grown in the United States for exportation. It was in that year that the hope was first expressed, that, if good seed could be procured, cotton for the European market might be grown in the Southern States. The experiment was made and succeeded. The invention of the saw-gin subsequently completed the success of the undertaking, and the crop of cotton in the United States is now 2,000,000 bales, of which we purchase about one half. The effect of this trade upon the slave system may be easily perceived. The negroes, who would soon have become valueless, and have been, therefore, emancipated, suddenly acquired a high and unexpected value; and in Virginia, and Maryland, and Kentucky, and North Carolina, where, by reason of their increase and the barrenness of the soil, they were becoming too expensive, they took the appearance of valuable stock, that might be kept for breeding, and sold as wanted to the slave markets of the Southwestern States—to Alabama and Mississippi, where the cotton planters had commenced the process of *killing* the soil, and the slaves upon the soil, in order to obtain a crop for the Liverpool and Glasgow markets. What is the language of a cotton planter writing recently in a Southern newspaper!

"I have no idea that the slaveholding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton. It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, our intelligence, and commands the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nile, as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt; the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land, may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort from the belief that he has washed away his sins—the Hindoo may worship the Lotus, under an idea that Vishnu created Bramah from its unfolded flowers; but a genuine slaveholder in South Carolina will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his power and his liberty. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and financial fury of modern society. If he expects to preserve the peculiar Institutions of his country, and transmit them to posterity, he must teach his children to hold the cotton plant in one hand, and the sword in the other, ever ready to defend it."

And what is the language of the Abolitionists of America, through one of their most distinguished editors? "We confess that, under God, our main reliance for the bloodless termination of American slavery, is the increase of cotton cultivation on the Peninsular of British India." What is the language of the venerable Clarkson? "Go to India for your cotton, and it is all over with American slavery!" If these things be true, then how great, how tremendous is our responsibility. It is written, "Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him naught for his work." I ask, is no part of that terrific wo ours, if we sustain those who are guilty of oppression and wrong, and are at the same time wilfully negligent of the facilities we possess of obtaining an abundant supply of the article we want from our own territory, without slavery, without coercion, and to the incalculable advantage both to the growers and the consumers! Put, then, in motion the powerful principle of a sound and sinless political economy—purify your commerce from the stain of blood—make your trade conducive to the liberty and happiness of millions (cheers,)—to the quiet, peaceful, yet resistless operation of this principle, the slaveholder must yield. He must yield, however dull his intellect, however hard his heart, however dead his conscience to the reasonings and rebukes of Scripture, or the appeals of his Christian fellow citizens.

If, however, we persist in supplying the motive to those who enslave men; if we wilfully and needlessly transgress, by one act, both the laws of nature and of humanity, and God, then are we recreant to our own religion, of mercy, and justice, and freedom, and in direct fellowship with those whose Bible is their leger, whose altar is their desk, whose church is their exchange, and whose god is their gold. We are the receivers of stolen goods, and the world will justly consider us as bad as the thief. For myself my course is taken. I will not cease to expose the enormity of our present practice. I will not cease to point out the path of honor, and safety, and duty, to my countrymen. (cheers.) I will cry aloud and spare not, however I may be censured by the patrons of misrule in the East, or the blood-brokering monsters of the West, or chilled by the indifference of those around me. I believe that nations as well as individuals should cease from sin. I believe that for nations, as well as for individuals, there is always a way of escape from a sinful course. Thank Heaven, in the present case, the course is open, plain, unobstructed, pleasant, and profitable. No losses, no crossses, no dangers, menace us. Self-interest allure us. Inexorable justice issues her stern decree.—Famishing millions raise their haggard hands to us for justice and for bread. The circumstances, the safety of our country demand the adoption of this course. Myriads of slaves point to it as the road to their freedom and deliverance. (cheers.) Let us, then, gird up the loins of our minds, and go forward in the good and glorious work. The genius of liberty will preside over our councils in the cause of India and Africa—she will watch with eager eyes the progress of the undertaking—she will utter her choicest benediction over every waving field of free-grown produce in the East, and every freighted bark that bears to these now polluted shores, the fruit of her children's industry. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. Thompson proceeded to state a variety of facts, to show the increased and increasing interest now manifested in India. The number of companies that had come into existence within a very short time would show this. He had in his possession prospectuses and plans of cotton, sugar, flax, tea, steam, banking, and harbor building companies.—These companies, though not of a benevolent character, were yet likely to be useful to India, and promote the welfare of the natives. It would be quite impossible for persons to embark in speculations on the shores of India, without becoming, to some extent, interested in the condition of the natives and the character of the government. Some of these associations would, he had no doubt, soon discover that there were fiscal and other hindrances to the enlarged and permanent prosperity of their undertakings, and would immediately seek the removal of these, and thus be instrumental in greatly promoting the good of the natives.—(cheers.) Respecting the cultivation of cotton, he might observe that every day's experience and inquiry made it more evident that our chief, if not our entire supply of that necessary article might be obtained from the East Indies. (cheers.) It was also becoming more and more evident that the present system of revenue stood greatly in the way of the improvement of the growth of cotton, and required to be materially amended. What (asked Mr. Thompson) was the language of a recent number of the Bombay Times?—It was this:—As soon as the condition of the Ryots is ameliorated, the quantity of cotton and all other agricultural produce may be expected to improve gradually but surely; but that this could not be looked for to any great extent as long as the Ryots were oppressed by the present enormous government duties, which reduce the whole agricultural population to the condition of mere day laborers, and deliver them over to the village money lenders, whose exactions leave them barely enough to keep body and soul together. The testimony of General Briggs, who had made the subject one of deep and anxious investigation, was, that poverty, produced by over assessment, was the sole barrier to the growth of cotton on the banks of navigable rivers, that might be sold for 1 1-2d. or 1 3-4d. per lb. Very recently a number of individuals, experienced American cotton planters, had been engaged and sent out to India, to be employed there under the direction of the Agricultural Society, for the purpose of growing and cleaning cotton according to the most approved American methods. The Chamber of Commerce, of Manchester, had for some time been giving much attention to the question, and had recently been visited by a deputation from the Court of Directors, who had encouraged them in their inquiries, and promised them assistance. At a meeting of that Chamber, on the 13th of last month, when the subject was brought fully under discussion, a resolution was passed, declaring "that from the experiments lately made, the Chamber felt convinced that cotton might be produced upon the soil of British India of a quality suited to the wants of the majority of the spinners and manufacturers of this country. (Hear, hear.) Much valuable evidence had recently been given before a Committee of the House of Lords, and a report adopted by that Committee, combining many just and enlightened views on the subject of our future intercourse with India. These were animatory signs of the times; but instead of disposing the friends of the natives of India to slacken their efforts, they ought rather to act as additional motives to vigilance and activity, that they might take advantage of the spirit of commercial enterprise and commercial justice, and at the same time exert a salutary influence over schemes which might possibly operate to the injury rather than to the benefit of the native, if but controlled by the power of a healthful and vigorous public sentiment. Besides the encouraging indications he had referred to, he might further notice the increasing attention bestowed upon the subject by the British press. He might refer to a considerable number of very valuable works that had recently appeared, diffusing information upon a variety of deeply interesting branches of the great question. He might refer to the Edinburgh Review, which had been led to bestow considerable attention upon the subject, and especially to the language of the present number, in which it was stated (what he, Mr. Thompson, had been censured by the same periodical for stating some time ago) that the real state of India was only now becoming thoroughly known—that the existing state of things acts with a strongly repressing force upon the development of the resources of the country; and that the best directed exertions of agricultural and commercial enterprise are deprived of half their due rewards by deficient institutions. The reviewer also pronounces a just and glowing eulogy upon the country, its soil, its unmatched fertility—its abundant population—its numerous ports, open at all seasons to vessels from every quarter—its noble rivers, affording easy communication to vast fields of production—its variety of climate, permitting the growth of almost every kind of tropical produce, as well as of many of the products of the temperate zone—its means of realising wealth, to which no limits can be assigned, and that, too, by a process connected with the greatest and most enduring benefits to the children of India—all this, and more, is said by the Edinburgh Review, which concludes its panegyric by assuring the world that for centuries there will be no limit to the power of India to supply to Europe the great staples of sugar, silk, coffee, cotton, and a long list of precious commodities, for which we are now mainly dependent upon other countries, and by our demand, for which we continue and perpetuate both slavery and the slave trade. In addition to an article on India, in the present number of the Edinburgh, the British and Foreign Review, contains one upon the administration of affairs in India, extending to sixty pages—an article which I commend to the serious perusal of all who hear me. The Electic Review, with its usual talent and fearlessness, has discussed the subject, and pledged itself to persevere in its advocacy of the cause of India. (Loud cheering.) Amongst the London daily papers in our cause, are the Times, the Advertiser, the Herald, and the Sun.—Through these different and influential channels, the knowledge of the condition and claims of India will be extended, and the country roused to a sense of its duty, to devise and carry forward measures for the removal of the grievances of those who, possessing no political power, are dependent altogether upon the equity and compassion of the British people. Permit me to say, that, in presuming the good which a society like the British India Society is able to effect, regard should be had not merely to specific measures, which such a society is able, by its own resources, to carry, but also the various efforts which it is the instrument of originating, and also to the great amount of evil and misgovernment which is likely to be prevented, while such a society keeps its hundred eyes upon the acts and doings of the rulers of India. Let me too, in conclusion, urge all who have any influence, (and who is there that possesses none) to exert themselves in this great cause. An individual as humble and insignificant as myself may do much by patient perseverance and continual effort. Larger minds may be excited—more persuasive lips may be moved—men of stronger faith may be led to pray—and thus each in his sphere, and according to his peculiar views, labor in earnestly promoting the good of the natives of India—the time shall soon come when that now impoverished land shall again smile with plenty, and its now wretched population be placed in circumstances of competence and security—protected by British law—succoured by British philanthropy, and enlightened by British knowledge. (Cheers.)

Mr. Remond, on rising to address the meeting, was received with loud cheers. He said, he felt the difficulty of the task which he had to perform, in attempting to follow his eloquent friend who had just sat down. He could say much upon the subject of slavery either in the East Indies or the United States, were it not that he had such a one to follow as his friend, George Thompson; but he scarcely knew what addition he could make to the information which had already been presented to them. He entirely favored the views expressed by Mr. Thompson. (cheers.) He believed, with very many citizens in the United States, that much was to grow out of the enterprise now going on in behalf of the East Indies, for the furtherance of the great anti-slavery enterprise in America. (cheers.) He believed that the success of the East India enterprise would be the success of their own—that the emancipation of the East India slave would prove the emancipation of the American slave. (cheers.) And, while India would be blessed, and prosper by the effort now making in her behalf, was it not plain that England and the United States would be blessed, and prosper also? (cheers.) And, if this were true, would they not, in being successful, accomplish a triple and great and good work! If nothing but the emancipation of the East Indian were to be attained, it would be a work sufficiently great and of sufficient importance to occupy the philanthropic efforts of the entire community; but, when it was understood that not merely India was to be blessed, but that the poor and oppressed of England, and of the United States, were to be blessed at the same time, and by the same means, then might they not take for their motto "Onward;" and look towards Heaven, in the hope of receiving assistance in following out so great and good a work?—(cheers.) Perhaps, in the remarks which he might make, he might say something that would not be palatable to many of those he addressed; but what he would say would be from a firm and full conviction of its truths, whether it was on the subject of the oppressed in this country, or in the U States, or in the East Indies. Abolition was not confined to the question of the East India slave, or the American slave: they were abolitionists in the full sense of the word; they would labor in behalf of the oppressed in every part of the world. (continued cheering.) What were the sentiments of the man who first promulgated abolition doctrines throughout the United States!—a man whom he loved and revered, and with whom he always felt it an honor to be identified. It was that "his countrymen were all mankind, and his country the world." (cheers.) Such were his feelings and his motto; and he was convinced, that, if they labored for the emancipation of the slave in the East Indies, and for the emancipation of the slave in America, they would thereby give greatly increased posperity to the flagging towns and villages throughout Great Britain, suffering from the want of those resources which India and America had withdrawn from them. (cheers.) After farther showing, that not merely India and America, but this country also, would prosper from the advancement of the cause of emancipation, Mr. Remond referred to the reception he was likely to meet in America, in consequence of the statements made by him in this country. A price might be offered for his head; but even in the prospect of the wishes of his enemies being satisfied, and his head carried to them, he wished them to understand, that, while he lived in this country, he would call American slavery by its proper name, and would brand that system before the English people, as he had dared to brand it in the face of the people of the state of Maine, as a system execrable in itself, a curse to their country, and damning to the souls of those who were engaged in it. (cheers.) He believed he would be sustained in the position, that, in lending his voice in promoting the claims of India, he was opening his eyes to an enlarged view of the question, when he believed that he was thereby benefiting every slave, every man, woman, and child suffering from oppression, whether put forth by the American slaveholder, or the English monopolist, or the East India Company. (cheers.) They had nothing to do in this question with great names; the only thing they had to do was to get at slavery, injustice, and oppression, wherever they existed; and, having got at them, to make the oppressors relax their grasp, to relieve the suffering and the poor, to loose the chains of the slave, and to make the oppressed go free.—(cheers.) Here Mr. Remond read an extract from the London correspondent of a New-York paper, to which he directed the attention of the audience; also an extract from a letter of a friend of his in America. These extracts went to show the feelings, first, of an American, in reference to the late Anti-Slavery Convention in London; and he certainly could not be taken for an abolitionist. Mr. R.'s remarks upon the letter of his countryman were of the most racy description, and highly amused the auditors. The second had reference to the offered reward of $10,000 by the planters of Georgia, for the abduction of the Rev. Messrs. Galusha, Colver, and Cyrus P. Grosvenor, three of the delegates to this country from the United States. On this subject, also, Mr. R. commented at some length, amid cheering. Such was the state of things on the opposite side of the Atlantic; and now he would put the question, what were the friends of anti-slavery, in Britain, to do for the abolition cause? A reference was, in the letter he had read, made to the north-east boundary question. After referring to the ardent desire for war with England, manifested by the State of Maine, about a few acres of land, and their inconsistency in refusing to give liberty to the slave.

Mr. Remond proceeded to show that a war with England would inevitably lead to the emancipation of the slaves.—He believed that England held the means in her own hands in relation to the system of slavery; and he trusted she would not shrink from the contest, for, dearly as he loved his country, and to dwell upon the association which he had experienced there, he felt that emancipation from any other means was not to be hoped for—and God grant that it might arrive early. The American nation, he observed, had every thing to lose by a contest with England. This sentiment he knew, might cost him his head; he knew that he would be in danger the moment he stepped on his *native* shore, for having given expression to such views as these; but he cared not; it would at least be known that one colored *American* had dared to speak freely and boldly on this subject. (cheers.) He would not give up the privilege and the prerogative of speaking out as a freeman while the breath was in his body. (cheers.) That right belonged to every human being; and, if he were a slave to-morrow, he would not shrink from asserting it. (cheers.) If a slave, if he could not obtain his freedom by any other means, he would walk over the prostrate body of his master. (cheers.) He would make every appeal to him in his power; but after that, if unsuccessful, he would assert his freedom by all the means he possessed. (cheers.) Let there be war between England and America, and the shackles which now held so many in bondage in his country would be broken to-morrow. (cheers.) He trusted that every individual present would come to the solemn conclusion, that they ought not to allow their attention to be drawn away from the subject before them that night, till India was freed, consequently the American slave free also. He trusted they would, like the queen of this country, who said she was resolved to live and die a maiden queen, come to the resolution that they would live and die abolitionists and the friends of freedom throughout the world. (cheers.)

They had the views of the slaveholders themselves on the subject, as well as of the anti-slavery States of America; and they knew that they were looking to the East Indies, in connection with the existence of slavery. He would call upon the people of Britain, rather than that the slave should take his emancipation into his own hand, as they loved their friends and brethren in the United States; for friends and brethren assuredly they were, being part of one nation, speaking the same language, having the same blood *crimsoning* their cheek, and owning the same ancestry—as they loved their institutions, and regarded the stability of their own government, he (continued the speaker) asked them, in behalf of the negro, in behalf of the bleeding slave, and the oppressed colored man in that country, and, as they would deserve their gratitude, to lend their assistance for the removal of East India slavery. (cheers.) It had been often remarked that the Americans depended upon England for the disposal of their slave produce, and they had had sufficient proofs of this in Manchester. England, therefore, could powerfully influence the people of America. They did not ask that England should go to war with the United States for the emancipation of the slaves; they did not ask her to interfere with the political concerns of that country; they did not ask her to overstep the bounds of national intercourse—nothing of the kind—but they asked, that, if England were sincere in the professions she had made, she should withhold all encouragement of slavery in the United States. (cheers.)

He believed that the East India question would soon become the great enterprise of the day in this country; and then the colored man and the slave of America would have hope in their cause—and, when the day came round that witnessed the triumph of their freedom, they would rank it as a day not second to the Fourth of July, but one that would take precedence of the Fourth of July, and in comparison of which it would fall into utter insignificance.—(cheers.) After some further remarks, Mr. Remond sat down amid loud cheering.

The Rev. Mr. Keep, from the United States, expressed the fullest confidence in the success of the enterprise advocated by Mr. Thompson, and hoped the meeting would sustain him in his herculean work. In reference to some expressions which had been made use of by his friend, Mr. Remond, he trusted the audience would make allowance for their warmth, and impute them to the intensity of his feelings. He hoped they would recollect what he was. He was a colored man. (hear.) They had half a million of colored freemen in America, but they were oppressed like the slaves, and subjected to the most degrading tyranny. They could not conceive what he felt, as an American, in seeing that young man (Mr. Remond) on the present platform.—He had spoken strongly, but they would impute it to the strength of his feelings; and how, he asked, could his feelings be otherwise than strong! (cheers.) He would only say that he was using all the energies he possessed to aid that class of people. He felt deeply interested in his friend Mr. R., and, though he might be subjected, for so doing, to reproach, yet that reproach he felt to be his greatest honor. (cheers.) He could assure them there were many in his country who were determined, on this subject, to act on principles of righteousness; and they thought that the time was not far distant when the colored man would be received as a brother, and the slave restored to the blessings of freedom. (cheers.)

Mr. Remond said he would not have any one to suppose that he would return to his country with the view of inciting the slave to insurrection against his master. He did not think that would be necessary; for he believed the slave would be freed only by the progress of peaceful truth. He only spoke what were his own sentiments in relation to himself; and he did not wish to soften down the sentiment in the least. (cheers.) Were he a slave, and could not get his freedom by any other means, he would grapple with his master, and rather than—(The remainder of the sentence was lost in loud cheering.)

The resolution moved by Mr. Thompson was now carried amid great applause. A resolution, proposed by Mr. W. Smeal, and seconded by the Rev. James M'Tear, was then passed, relative to an addition to the number of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and the Committee. A vote of thanks to the Managers of the Chapel, and the Chairman, was also unanimously agreed to, and the meeting was then dissolved.

An attempt was made by Mr. Lloyd Jones, the Socialist missionary, to create a discussion on a subject in which he was personally concerned, but the gentlemen on the platform very properly withdrew, and left him talking to such as chose to remain and listen to him. An irregular discussion then took place—Mr. Brewster, of Paisley, who was standing in one of the passages, acting as Chairman.

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From the Philanthropist.

### Immediateism.

That it is the duty of all men everywhere, and at all times to do right, is the broad basis upon which anti-slavery principles are founded.

There is a right and a wrong in all action requiring moral agency. Hence the great question which concerns every man as an accountable being with reference to every moral question is,—upon which side do I stand—upon the right or upon the wrong? The friends of emancipation, hold it as a first principle—that whoever is doing wrong, should cease from that course of action, cease from it immediately. Slavery is wrong, wrong under every circumstance. It is opposed to human nature, irreconcilable with every dictate of humanity, inconsistent with justice, and directly at war with the oracles of God.

Such being the fact, there can be no principle, either of religion or sound philosophy, which can justify a continuance in the practice of it; but the requirement of God—to keep the fast of his appointment—which is "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," comes home upon us with a redoubled force. It is to be observed that this is a requirement, which is made without any modifying provisions to suit existing circumstances: and we find its divine author no where in the revelation which he has given of his will to man, intimating, that any of his precepts, or requirements, may be disregarded, because in the wisdom of man, with his limited capacities, it may not seem expedient to obey. The principle, that when human views of expediency come in contact with the divine commands, men are not under obligations to obey; is one which is infidel in its character, and such as would have a tendency if carried out, to cut man loose from the moral government of God. That this would be the direct tendency of such a principle, must be apparent to every enlightened and reflecting mind; and hence when an

of ownership. Such a principle necessarily supposes the right to pluck out the eyes of the soul, and drown the immortal nature, if it were possible that such a work could come within the sphere of human ability. It is by no means difficult to see, that if such a principle should be carried out, it would subject the happiness of one portion of the human family entirely to the will and caprice of another—change the duties of a man to his God into duties to a creature—in a word, nullify the relation between man and his God—to build up an unnatural relation which the God of the universe has never sanctioned.

Now, frightful as the principle may appear, it is the very principle upon which slavery is built, and which is acted upon throughout the slaveholding country.

The doctrine of anti-slavery men is, that the black man has rights which are as sacred as the rights of the white man. And consequently when his rights are trampled upon there can be no principle of justice which can even for a limited time, lawfully sanction such usurpation. The rights of the black man are the gift of his divine author, as much as the rights of the white man—hence no argument can prove that they may be rightfully withheld from him, but an argument which will prove that he is not a *man*.

He that can admit that the slave is a *man*, and yet contend that he is justly a *slave*, manifests himself destitute alike of the first principles of justice, and the plainest dictates of common sense. He shows in effect, that if his reasoning satisfies his own sealed conscience, he cares not if it is inconsistent with moral truth, or even strikes heaven in the face. His recklessness, however, little exceeds the recklessness of those divines who when met professedly in the name of the great Head of the church, to consult relative to the interests of Zion, can show themselves much concerned about the sins of intemperance and Sabbath breaking; but when bleeding humanity seeks a hearing, can so smother their consciences as to lay the "*delicate subject*" upon the table, and hush it all in silence, lest the good feelings of brethren should be wounded, or their piety spoiled. No wonder that the infidel should sneer at their inconsistency, while a wicked world ridicules their religion, a religion which while it teaches the doctrine of immediate repentance, is nevertheless so corrupt as to allow its professors to practice an acknowledged sin,—and does not require them to declare, that a system so grossly wicked as slavery, is a "*moral evil.*" No wonder if men should conclude that such a religion is a corrupt thing. When we see Mohammedans practising the basest crimes which blacken human nature, we very justly conclude, that their religion is but a system of error and corruption—and it is to be expected that men will form their opinions of the christian religion in the same way. When they see its professors justifying the continued practice of slavery, it is but natural that they should conclude that it is corrupt,—and then reasoning back they need but a short argument to prove that the Bible is a corrupt book, and its author an unholy God. It is in this way that our pro-slavery expediency-men, it is to be feared, are the means of making scores of infidels. They are introducing into their religious practice a principle, which cannot but convince a wicked world that their religion itself is but little better than Mohammedanism—a system of inconsistencies.

It is only by the adoption of the immediate principle, that professing men are to convince the world that when they say that *slavery is sin*, they are sincere; otherwise they are telling the world in effect that sin may be practised with impunity—a principle calculated at once to undo every thing like moral purity.

The immediate principle, then, is the only consistent principle: hence it is not difficult to see that he who arrays against it, that infidel principle—*expediency*—shows that he is only seeking a subterfuge under which to conceal his iniquity. It is too much for men to stand up in the light of the present age, and advocate the practice of sin without a plausible pretext. It is not too much to say, that if it were possible, such men would hurl back the world from its present point of improvement; and knowledge, and bury it in the darkness of the middle ages, that under a moral gloom, thick as night, they might practice the enormities of the most man-brutalizing, God-dishonoring system ever known, without rebuke—free from the stings of remorse awakened in the conscience, by the light of the nineteenth century.

But the correctness of the immediate principle, may be seen still further by viewing it in connection with the present assumptions of the slavery power.

The time was when the slavery power seemed mild in its appearance, and modest in its requirements; but such is no longer the case.—Slavery has now assumed a prerogative to which it formerly made no pretensions, that of being emphatically *the great interest* of our country, to which all other interests in church as well as state must be subservient.

To its support, every principle of right must be sacrificed, men must drown the voice of conscience, and close their mouths in silence, or be ousted from every place of profit or trust—in a word, slavery must be supported, no matter if conscience is smothered—freedom of thought and expression violated—civil liberty outraged—the temple of God profaned—and God himself dishonored and defied, and all this, that man—*the image of his God*—may be degraded to the state of the brute.

Where, then, is the friend of humanity who, when he looks upon the increased and increasing assumptions of the slavery power, will not look upon and adopt as *right*, the principle of immediate action—in staying a power about to roll over every thing sacred—under which already we have seen men—the brightest stars in our political horizon, fall, and sacrifice their long cherished principles to the support of the "*domestic institution*," all for the sake of some favorite political purpose,—a power before which, if not driven back by the force of public sentiment, our own cherished liberties must soon lie prostrate and crushed.

R. H. Hollyday.

From the Liberator.

### State Anti-Slavery Convention.

Worcester, Oct. 1840.
Tuesday Night.

*To my Editorial Chair:*

Up to this hour, you and I have had very little to do with each other since my return in pursuit of the World's Convention on the other side of the wild-heaving and awful Atlantic. That Convention, you know, was *non est inventus*. As soon as I can get through with the numerous engagements which have been imposed upon me, in consequence of my mission, I hope to occupy you to good purpose.

I write now from Worcester. The heart of the Commonwealth is not yet perfectly sound in relation to our great anti-slavery enterprise, though it is in a more healthy condition than it was formerly. As to the effect of slavery upon the nation, it may be scripturally affirmed that the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint—and from the crown of our head to the sole of our foot, we are full of wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores. But there is some hope of recovery.

I left Boston this morning in company with a choice number of old organized abolitionists, to be present at the State Anti-Slavery Convention in this place. We have not had a more pleasant day since the present year was ushered into existence. As pleasing evidence of the change which is gradually taking place in public sentiment on the subject of prejudice, I will state that no distinction between white and colored travellers is now made on the Worcester rail-road. All who behave decently are treated accordingly. There were several colored delegates to the Convention in the cars, but I could not perceive that the feelings of any individual were ruffled on that account. Custom will soon make it, I trust, a matter of course in all our steam-boats, stage-coaches, rail-road cars, and other conveyances. The prejudice which persecutes and degrades a brother on account of the color of his skin is manifestly unreasonable, vulgar, unnatural, impious. It must be abandoned universally in this country, or our republicanism and Christianity will continue to be a jest and by-word.

No meeting-house could be obtained for the use of the Convention but the Methodist, which is a small one, but very neat. The notice of the meeting had not been given from any of the pulpits in this town, or in any newspaper except the Christian Reflector; so that the inhabitants generally were not apprised of our intention. In consequence of the present political excitement in this State, and the fact that another Convention is to be holden at Springfield on the 8th and 9th inst., I did not anticipate a large meeting. The number of delegates in attendance, however, about 200, which will doubtless be increased to-morrow. They are fine specimens of genuine, unshackled abolitionism.—The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M., and was called to order by Oliver Johnson, one of the Committee of Arrangements. John M. Fisk, of North Brookfield, was chosen President, and Wm. C. Coffin, Secretary, pro. tem. A committee of nomination of officers was appointed, as follows:—Oliver Johnson, Wm. Bassett, Wm. B. Earle, N. P. Rogers, and Richard Clapp, who reported the names of the following individuals:—President, Dr. Amos Farnsworth, of Groton; Vice Presidents, John M. Fisk, of West Brookfield; E. L. Capron, Uxbridge; N. Johnson, New Bedford; W. Buffum, Worcester; Richard Clapp, Dorchester. Secretaries, Wm. C. Coffin, New Bedford; J. S. Wall, Worcester. The following persons were appointed a Business Committee:—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, N. P. Rogers, Abby Kelley, W. B. Earle, Francis Jackson, Wm. Bassett, Hiram A. Morse, Mary P. Kenney. Several important resolutions were discussed and adopted with perfect unanimity. But I have not time to go into particulars.—Nearly four hundred dollars were collected this evening, in pledges and money, in the course of a few minutes. About one hundred dollars was also taken at the Anti-Slavery Fair. It is truly good to be here.

In great haste, I remain,
Your faithful occupant,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

From the Union Herald.

Mr. Editor:—

What would the third party have to do as a matter of State policy, should the Whigs carry the State election in favor of Seward and Bradish, and also in favor of Whig assemblymen and Senators, and at the ensuing session abolish the 9 month's law and pass strong resolutions in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?—Pray, what would keep them together the next four years? They might have Congressmen to elect, but they would make poor headway at it, especially if the whigs should put up good men, as they may see fit to do, quite as unexceptionable as Judge Savage; at least whom I understand the third party have courted. O, they would have path masters to elect! Well, what of it? What can they do toward abolishing Slavery when they get them? In that capacity I mean. As *men* they might do something in persuading *others* to become believers in our doctrines, but that is what we call "Moral Suasion," and they laugh at, and ridicule, and deride *that*. They confessedly have no faith in *moral suasion*. Jesus Christ used no other means to convert men, but they must have path masters. St. Paul "knew nothing but Jesus and him crucified" and although these men say he was a great stickler for Human Government, they seem peculiarly unfortunate in not being able to point to his support of a political party to change the rulers to whose authority he so strongly taught submission. But what can a path master do to abolish Slavery, or a County Clerk, or an Assessor? Will not some one tell us? Suppose for instance the good people of Cazenovia should put Doctor Rice in for Path Master next spring—(Let not the Doctor feel that I mean to speak disparagingly of him, for although nominated for Assembly this fall, as he will not be elected, and they must have path masters or their work will be incomplete—he may possibly get the nomination for *that* office,) in what would his influence be increased so as to enable him to overthrow slavery—setting aside *moral influence* which his party disclaim? Can the Doctor tell? I confess I cannot see. He might order some 20 men about for 8 hours a day, some 8 or 10 days, but what glory he would get in all that matter unless he should feel his desire for power gratified in the thing, I am at a loss to determine. But what benefit the slave would derive from Doctor Rice the Path Master, more than from Doctor Rice without the office I cannot see. Neither can any one else, I reckon. I will tell you what it will do. It will enable the party to develope itself *quicker* and show its true colors. "It takes all sorts of folks to make a world." Some are ambitious of a Presidential cushion, some of a seat in a "3 walled house at Albany," some like the Senate chamber, some the Hall of Assembly. Some like a Clerkship, a Sheriffalty, a school Inspectorship, or a Path-master's beat. Now, although 9-10ths of these offices are beyond any influence of the kind which the third partizan declares it absolutely necessary to exert, still it will aid them materially in keeping their ranks together. Like all parties they can promise offices when they get them, and he who works in hope of an office will stretch his conscience most unmercifully in order to justify the deeds of his party. This forms a *reason* with the third party man why he should have a path master. Without this policy they could not keep their feeble ranks together for a week, after the excitement of an election had subsided. Another thing. There are not quite as many offices as people in the country, but there are a great many. If a party was to take action upon the higher offices of the government only, they would have too many candidates. The position of the leaders would be rather uncomfortable. It might be unpleasant to decide that Doctor Rice should have the nomination for Assembly, *instead* of some other man, and a division might take place by this means. But they can say, Doctor, You must give way to Mr. B. this year. We believe in Rotation in nomination—it is Republican. So a good friend gets the nomination, and the Doctor goes into some other nomination, higher or lower as his services to the party may demand. I was forcibly struck with the idea advanced by Gerrit Smith that unless they nominated for the higher and lower offices also, it might produce distraction in their ranks—it lets out a flood of light upon this subject. Why distract their ranks? Because, some who would stay with them if they could have a nomination would go away if not thus bound. Party considerations, then, are the influences which are to abolish slavery. How very absurd. I know nothing more absurd than this, save the utter contempt which the leaders manifest for "moral suasion" as they are pleased to term the presentation of the great truths, which we advocate. If then the Whigs should do, what I have supposed them to do, this moral monstrosity of striving to get into office under the plea of freeing the slave, will die. I know that some of them hope to keep alive their "little Liberty Party" as they are pleased to call it, only through the defeat of the Whig Party and that all their efforts are bent to that end. They care but little about the other, for their design is not to rise on its ruins, but on that of the Whig. Some man may say I do not give them credit as much as I ought. I reply Politicians are all run in the same mould. Some are more troubled with a conscience than others. They hesitate to do for the party what their individual convictions disapprove, but the majority in all and each political parties that I have ever seen,—follow the interests of their party with small reference to principles of right. Minorities are purer than majorities, and generally pure in proportion to their smallness. But Independent of this, I know not why I should give the third party any unusual credit for honesty. Certainly the specimens I have seen will not warrant any such decision.

Yours,
J. C. Jackson.

From the Christian Reflector.

### Slave Case in Fitchburg, Mass.

There having been considerable excitement produced in this village during the last week in consequence of legal measures having been taken by the friends of liberty to secure the freedom of a female who had been brought into the place by her master, and as many false reports have been circulated in relation to the affair, it was deemed desirable by the undersigned, resident citizens, to make an investigation, prepare, and publish what they believe to be a correct account of the affair for the information of the friends abroad.

It appears that, some weeks since, a Mr. Leonard from Louisiana, who is said to be the owner of a large plantation in the vicinity of New Orleans, came into this village accompanied *only by a female* about 22 years of age, whom he declared to be his slave.

This circumstance becoming generally known, it excited not a little interest in the minds of the friends of liberty and good order; and there being reports in circulation that freedom had been offered her, and that she would not accept it, many became anxious, to ascertain from her own lips whether it was true. An individual desiring to see and converse with the slave on this subject, requested and obtained permission to do so; and providentially the slave was found alone. After a faithful conversation with her, the individual became convinced that she *did want her freedom*.

Under these circumstances, the friends of liberty—after consultation relative to duty—laid the case before the legal authority in Worcester, and steps were immediately taken, *agreeably to the laws of this Commonwealth* to secure her freedom. Papers duly prepared were put into the hands of a judicious officer, who embraced the first opportunity to see her in the absence of her master, in order to lay before her the true state of her condition while in this Commonwealth, and to offer her the means to assert her inalienable rights, as a free person of the state of Massachusetts. But, on calling for the slave at the house where she was kept, it appears he was unable to obtain an interview with her, for it was soon ascertained that she had left the house and was seen in the street with a large pistol in her hand, in pursuit of her master. The officer followed the slave to the public house near by into which she fled, and there came in contact with Leonard, her master, who on learning the purpose for which the officer had called, presented a loaded pistol to his breast, and declared that if he did not desist from his purpose, he would "blow him through the body." By threats, and oaths of the vilest character, he defied the citizens, and the laws, and displayed before several witnesses the implements of death which are so much in vogue where lynch law is the supreme law of the land. It was thought by some of our esteemed citizens that such base conduct, such open violation of law, and such daring threats ought not to be passed by unnoticed. A warrant was immediately issued for the arrest of the culprit, to bring him to answer for his aggravated offence. The warrant for his arrest was put into the hands of the proper officer, but having ascertained that Leonard had fully determined not to be taken alive, having prepared for a severe contest by having in his possession a sixteen chambered Rifle, two double barreled pistols and a bowie knife, some delay was occasioned, and the opportunity was taken by him, under cover of night, to flee from justice retaining possession of his slave. Thus ended one of the most disgraceful scenes of daring bravado that were ever known in the usually peaceful village of Fitchburg.

The above account of the affair we believe to be substantially correct.

ALPHEUS KIMBALL,
W. S. WILDER,
EBENEZER BALL,
CAHILL TOLMAN,
NATHAN TOLMAN,
ABEL F. ADAMS.

*Fitchburg, Oct. 2, 1840.*

### Speech of Thomas Clarkson, Esq.,

*Taken from his own manuscript copy of it, and intended to have been delivered at the opening of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London from the 12th to the 24th of June, 1840, distinguishing those passages which were omitted, but which are now published by Mr. Clarkson's permission.*

My Dear Friends—

I stand before you as a humble individual, whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly, under Providence, the originator, and am now unhappily the only surviving Member of the Committee, which was first instituted in this country in the year 1787, for the Abolition of the slave trade. My dear friend and fellow laborer, Mr. Wilberforce, who was one of them, is as you know, dead, and here I may say of him, that there never was a man, either dead or living, to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow laborer, William Smith, the late member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and out of Parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the Committee, Samuel Hoare, William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Richard Philips, and the other dear friends whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this meeting, but old age and infirmities,—being lame and nearly blind,—and besides, being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length I have been permitted to come among you, and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in reference to your future labors. Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance.

My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the whole world. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more than two millions of their fellow creatures in the most cruel bondage. Now we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may therefore be said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then, can you get at these so as to influence their conduct. There is but one way: you must endeavor to make them feel their guilt in its consequences. You must endeavor, among other things, to have the produce of free tropical labor brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there,—and if you can do this, your victory is sure.

"Now that this is possible, that this may be done, there is no question. The East India Company alone can do it of themselves, and they can do it by means that are perfectly moral and pacific, according to your own principles, namely, by the cultivation of the earth and by the employment of free labor. They may, if they please, not only have the high honor of abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade, but the advantage of increasing their revenue beyond all calculation; for, in the first place, they have land in their possession twenty times more than equal to the supply of all Europe with tropical produce; in the second place, they can procure, not tens of thousands, but tens of millions of free laborers to work; in the third, what is of the greatest consequence in this case, the price of labor with these is only from a penny to three-halfpence per day. What slavery can stand against these prices?

"I learn, too, from letters which I have seen from India, and from the Company's own Reports, that they have been long engaged, shall I say providentially engaged, in preparing seeds for the cultivation of cotton there. Now if we take into consideration all these previous preparations (by which it appears that they are ready to start,) and add to this the consideration that they could procure, not tens of thousands, but tens of millions of free laborers to work,—I speak from authority,—I believe that if they would follow up their plans heartily, and with spirit, according to their means, that in the course of six years they would materially affect the price of this article at market, and in twelve that they would be able to turn the tide completely against the growers of it in the United States.

"And here I would observe, that this is not a visionary or fanciful statement. Look at the American newspapers; look at the American pamphlets which have come out upon this subject; look at the opinion of the celebrated Judge Jay on this subject also; all, all, confess, and the planters too confess—but the latter with fear and trembling—that if the East India Company should resolve upon the cultivation of tropical products in India, and carry it to the extent to which they would be capable of carrying them—it is all over with American Slavery.

"Gentlemen, I have mentioned these circumstances not with a view of dictating to you any particular plan of operations, but only to show you the possibility of having your great object accomplished, and this to its fullest extent; for what I have said relative to the United States is equally applicable to Cuba, Brazil, and other parts of the South American Continent; and, besides, the East India Company have 20 times more land than is sufficient to enable them to compete with them all."

I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all humen events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may He in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessings upon your labors.

N. B.—The passages now first published, are those with inverted commas.

From the Brooklyn (Ct.) Harrisonian.

### Slave Case.

A trial which excited much interest, was held in this town on Thursday last, before Hon. Joseph Eaton, Judge of the County Court, for the purpose of recovering a colored girl, by the name of Aryannah Pendleton, claimed to be a fugitive slave belonging to a Mrs. Price, of Richmond, Virginia. The girl, it seems, came to New-York with Mrs. Price, and although strictly guarded, found means, prompted by the love of Liberty, of escaping to Hartford, and from there to Hampton, where she has resided for about three years past, and until arrested at the instigation of Doct. Price, son of the above named Mrs. Price, on a writ of Habeas Corpus and brought before Judge Eaton for trial. The residence of this girl, it appears from what information we can collect, was made known to Doct. Price, by a contemptible fellow named Fuller, formerly a resident of Hampton, but now of the South, to whom, it is said, Doct. Price is indebted, and that the girl was, if found a slave, to be sold to satisfy such demand.

The girl claimed that she, although formerly held as a slave, yet was not legally such—that her mother was a free citizen of the West Indies, but when young, was stolen, brought to Virginia, and forcibly held as a slave; yet never was such according to the laws of Virginia; consequently, that she (the Girl) was a free person, and that Mr. Price had no more legal claim on her as a slave, than on any other free person. This statement we are inclined to think, substantially correct, from the facts connected with the trial, and also that it was made by the girl at various times, and under such circumstances that she could have no possible motive to deceive.

Whatever may have been the *real* character of Doct. Price, we presume not to say, but as developed during the trial, the impression created was very unfavorable in regard to his honesty. He made the attempt, as appears from undoubted evidence, to get possession of the girl without a trial; being aware probably, that he could not substantiate his claim before a court and jury, but failing in this, as the girl positively refused to go with him on any consideration, his next resort was to legal proceedings.

The trial commenced about 9 o'clock in the morning, and as it appeared to be a new case under the Act passed by the Legislature in 1838, some considerable delay was experienced in arguing various points of law. The first move was for the Plaintiff to give bonds; but whether those bonds were to be sufficient to cover the damages which a jury might award to the girl in case the plaintiff did not make good his claim, or only costs of trial, was a question which was argued at some length. On this point, the court did not decide, but stated that as it was in the power of the court to increase the bonds at any stage of the trial, he would for the present fix the bond at $200. Such, however, was the strong sympathy excited in behalf of the defendant, that no one would consent to give bonds, although the offer was made to put into their hands as collateral security the full amount of the bond in cash, excepting J. A. Welch, Esq., counsel for the plaintiff, who through the *power* of a $50 bill or something else was "conscientiously" induced to employ his talents and energies to enslave a free and friendless girl. He, however was objected to, and the amount of the bonds finally put into the hands of the court. Gen. C. F. Cleveland, counsel for the defendant, then demanded that the girl should be released on bonds, which was fixed by the court at $500, and instantly given. The defendants counsel then called for the power of Attorney, giving Price authority to arrest this girl. An instrument purporting to be such, was produced; but whether it was genuine or manufactured here by Price, could be determined only by the evidence of Price which the Court decided was admissible;—thus giving a man the priviledge of *substantiating his own power of Attorney by his own oath.* Strong suspicions were manifested, however that this instrument was forged, from the fact that Price could not produce it on the evening preceding the trial, as testified by Welch, and also from the appearance of the document. Price was then questioned about his interest in the case, on which point his evidence was vague and contradictory. He testified that his mother gave him money to pay the expense of recovering the girl; but when interrogated how much she gave him, he fixed it at various amounts; but at last said it was $300. He then stated that his mother gave him a $500 bill; which was produced; which in case he did not recover the girl, was to be his own; and that if the girl was found a slave, she was to live in his family. Thus showing his direct interest in the case, and disqualifying himself as a witness. This point was not decided when the defendants proposed going to a Jury trial forthwith. The plaintiff wished it put off until November, so that he might return to Richmond and collect more evidence in the case; but when notified by General Cleveland that he had an Attorney in Richmond, who would attend to the taking of depositions, Doct. Price withdrew the suit, although otherwise advised and urged by his counsel. The girl had previously been taken care of, and is now at liberty, and in safe hands. Great credit is due Gen. Cleveland for the able and ingenious manner in which he managed the defence, in which he volunteered his services after having refused to engage for the plaintiff, and it must be a source of consolation to that gentleman to reflect that his influence was on the side of Justice and Humanity, and also, that he has with him, the sympathies of a generous community.

Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.

London, Sept. 18th, 1840.

The Anti-Slavery party are now actively engaged in getting up an opposition to West India Sugar, and have formed a company under the name of "British India and Anti-Slavery Sugar Company." They contend that even under the name of apprentices, slavery positively exists to a great and frightful extent, and that the only effectual cure to such a system, will be to touch the pockets of the planters.—How this style of reasoning can have any influence I should feel a difficulty in stating; but knowing the mass of prejudice that exists in this country upon the subject among many truly good and estimable people, that difficulty at once vanishes. There is already a formidable body engaged in the cultivation and importation of East India made sugar into this country, (the Dhobar Sugar Company,) and this year it is calculated that they will introduce between 40,000 and 50,000 tons. Sugar is now at a very high price,—so much so that many families have given up all idea of making their usual preserves for the season. The fruiterers cry out bitterly, owing to this circumstance, for their stock continues on hand, and many of the growers declare that their stock will not pay the gathering and transit to market. Those who have been in the habit of shipping apples from the United States, to this country, will find it this year a bad speculation, I should imagine, for our crops are the most prolific that have been known for many years. They are also particularly sound, very few having been visited in bud by the fly. Apples and Pears are all but given away in Covent Garden and the several markets of the metropolis, and other fruits are to be had nearly upon the same terms. Even Grapes, generally a most expensive hot-house delicacy, are full four hundred per cent. cheaper than last year. Peaches, however, are still high priced, being sixpence, a shilling, and eighteen pence British each, which is a terrible infliction upon Americans, and those who have enjoyed this exquisite fruit at a very different charge in New-York.

From the Liberator.

*To the Editor of the Glasgow Argus:*

Respected Friend,—Intimation having been given, on the 8th current, by means of placards extensively posted throughout the city, that, "On Sabbath, first, the 9th inst., Mrs. Lucretia Mott, minister of the Society of Friends, Philadelphia, would hold a meeeting in the Christian Unitarian Chapel"—and that meeting having, we understand, been numerously attended by our fellow-citizens, we deem it right, on behalf of the Society of Friends residing in Glasgow, to inform the public that we hold no religious fellowship with Lucretia Mott, nor with the body in the United States (called Hicksites) to which she belongs; they not being recognized by the Society of Friends in the United Kingdom, nor by those Friends with whom we are in connection in America: and that we do not wish to be in any way identified with, or considered responsible for, any sentiments that Lucretia Mott may have uttered at the meeting above referred to.

We are, respectfully, thy friends,
WILLIAM SMEALE.
WILLIAM WHITE.
JOHN MAXWELL.
JAMES SMEAL.
EDWARD WHITE.

*Glasgow*, 12th of 8th month, 1840.

### Mrs. Lucretia Mott and the Society of Friends.

*To the Editor of the Glasgow Saturday Post:*

Sir:—The following communication having been transmitted to me with a request to adopt the necessary means for giving it publicity, and the letter to which it refers having appeared in your paper, as well as in the Argus, I hand it to you for insertion in your columns.

I am, respectfully, yours.
GEORGE HARRIS.

*Glasgow*, August 29, 1840.

Liverpool, 8th month, 24, 1840.

William Smeale:

Respected Friend,—After reaching London, a few days since, I first heard of a publication in the *Glasgow Argus*, signed by thyself and four others, respecting my wife, and the notice of a meeting she had in the Unitarian Chapel: but which publication I did not see until this day. Had either of you been at the meeting, it is probable you would not have considered such a disavowal necessary: as I distinctly stated to the audience, that a division in the Society of Friends had taken place in the United States, about twelve years since; that we belonged to that portion of the division which was not recognized as Friends by those of this country; that we claimed, however, to be Friends, and were members of the largest portion of the division in Pennsylvania (reading a certificate our monthly meeting had furnished us,) our number being about twenty thousand, and the other side about eight thousand; and the whole number in the United States, on our side, near eighty thousand; that I mentioned these things, in order that it might be understood who we were, that no one might be deceived; for we did not wish to pass for anything different from what we were.

I doubt not but all of the large audience fully and clearly understood our position; and would say, on seeing your disclaimer, "You might have saved yourself the trouble and exposure; for Mr. Mott informed us they were not in connection with you."

Now those who are ignorant of the facts may suppose, from your disclaimer, that we wanted to be considered as Friends connected with you, and attempted to pass ourselves off as such; which we should be quite as unwilling to do, as you would be to be identified with us. I also should be as unwilling to be responsible for sentiments I *heard* in your meeting, as you seem to be for sentiments you did *not hear* in the Chapel.

The difference between us is this—you call yourselves Friends, and claim to be such; whatever our opinion may be as to the fact, we do not deny or question your right to call yourselves by this name. We, also, call ourselves Friends, and claim to be such; but *you deny us* the right to the name, and reproachfully apply the epithet of Hicksites, which we disclaim, it having been used by our opposers in derision.

You may say that you lament our declension or departure from what you consider and believe to be the doctrine of the Society of Friends. We also, and sincerely lament your departure from what we consider and believe to be the doctrines and practices of the Society; so that, in this respect, we stand on equal grounds. Of one thing I have had such evidence as fully satisfies me of the fact, that Friends in this country are deplorably ignorant of the causes of the division in America, and of the relative circumstances of the two parties then or at the present time; and that they cherish a spirit of prejudice and bigotry towards us, incompatible with the benign religion of Jesus. Of this, however, we do not complain, as you are the sufferers; but we deplore the unchristian conduct this leads many into. I am satisfied a difference in opinion on doctrines does exist between you and us; but this does not settle the question as to which is right or which wrong. I suppose you believe yourselves right, and holding doctrines in accordance with Fox, Penn,* Barclay, &c. I fully believe we do; and can bring as much evidence to support our views as you can. What is the ground of warnings given in your Yearly meeting, your verbal and newspaper disclaimers? Are you afraid of being robbed of your good name? or are your doctrines of such an evanescent character that they are in danger of vanishing before the sunshine of truth? Does it not show a want of confidence in your principles, or in the solidity or durability of your position? It is a small matter to us to be judged of man, or to have our religious faith called in question, or to be charged with worshipping the God of our Fathers after the manner called heresy; all this moves us not. But I grieve at the manifestation of a spirit that will deliver a brother up to death: as far as the law and custom of the country will allow, it is the same which a few years ago imprisoned, burned, and hung those who held opinions on religious subjects different from those who then possessed the legal power. We do not find any charge of unmoral conduct brought against those martyrs, but holding opinions dangerous to the peace and unity of the church; or, more correctly, not holding opinions that were deemed essential to salvation. It is easy to be very liberal and charitable towards those who believe more than we do: but those who believe less, we are ready enough to denounce heretical, dangerous innovaters, not to be countenanced.

When will men respect properly the right of private opinion? Not until they learn that religion consists not in the assent of the mind to any dogma, nor yet in the belief of any mysterious proposition of faith; but in visiting the widow and fatherless, and keeping ourselves unspotted from the world. "I am sick of opinions, I am weary to hear them, my soul loathes their frothy food; give me solid, substantial religion—give me an honest, devoted lover of God and man."

"It is time Christians were judged by their likeness to Christ, rather than by their notions [opinions] of Christ." It appears to me, you take the latter ground of judgment; I greatly prefer the former.

I had intended to say something about the objects of crossing the Atlantic; but my paper is full, and I must subscribe,

Thy friend,
JAMES MOTT.

* See "The Sandy Foundation Shaken; or, those so generally believed and applauded doctrines, of one God, subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; the justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness, refuted from the authority of Scripture testimonies and right reason. By Wm. Penn, a builder on that foundation which cannot be moved;" a publication for which Wm. Penn suffered imprisonment in the Tower of London.

From the Evangelist.

### Slavery Resolutions passed by the First Congregational Church at Great Falls, N. Y.

Resolved, That as the church is the "pillar and ground of truth," the churches of our Saviour ought to learn the truth on the subject of slavery, and make a distinct declaration to the world of their opinions.

Resolved, That as a christian church we consider slavery to be a great moral evil; a sin of the greatest magnitude; a blot upon our national character; and a system at war with the genius of our free institutions.

Resolved, That we deem it our duty to exert our influence, by all christian like means, to promote the cause of immediate and universal emancipation.

Resolved, That truth wielded by love, is the great weapon by which to combat sin and error. That the true position of the churches of the North, is to take counsel with the friends of Christ in the South and West; to sympathise with them, to pray for them, and endeavor with christian kindness and fidelity to convince them that it is their duty and privilege, to exert their influence to overthrow that system of legalized sin among them, which has been the cause not only of much corporeal and mental suffering; but of "anger, wrath, clamor, and evil speaking," and variance, even in the household of faith.

Resolved, That we cannot, consistently with our professions, commune with any, as christians, who do not manifest the spirit of Christ, by showing acts of kindness and mercy to the oppressed and degraded slave.

Resolved, That this church will expect its minister to act in conformity with these resolutions. That he also be requested in conjunction with a committee of the church to correspond with Southern and Western ministers, and christian churches, on the subject of slavery, in order to ascertain what the true condition of the slave with them is, and what can be done in co-operation with them to do away the evil of slavery.

Resolved, That this church will observe a regular monthly concert of prayer for those in bonds, at which time the correspondence provided for in the above resolution shall be laid before the church, and a collection taken up for their benefit, to be expended in such manner as the church by vote shall direct.

A true copy. Attest,
WILLIAM STEARNS, Clerk.


## NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1840.

☞ The Executive Committee feel pleasure in laying the following announcement before their patrons and constituents. It shows what has been the past, and what will be the future relation of our brother Rogers to the official organ of the Society. We may say, that to all intents and purposes, our editor is now at his post. He is there in spirit, at least, for which our readers and ourselves will exchange hearty congratulations. He is expected to furnish regularly a liberal quantity of editorial matter, in addition to which, the Committee have made such arrangements in relation to the general superintendence of the paper, as they confidently believe will be entirely satisfactory to its readers.

### To the Patrons of the Standard.

I would crave pardon of any but Abolitionists for delaying thus late, since my return from England, to take more decisive action than I have in regard to your gallant paper; though I might say, in passing, that no one can complain of the manner in which *I have performed* the duty of its *editor* thus far. No one can say I have not furnished you an admirable paper; and perhaps the only way in which I can continue to do so is, to remain nominal editor. But, as to this delay, my friends will readily make generous allowance. They will appreciate the fatigue of an eight-thousand-mile journey, accomplished in three months, and amounting nearly all the way to one continued anti-slavery meeting, with all its excitements. Then the calls and the cares that follow such an absence from home; and then, the perplexing consideration of quitting an anti-slavery post, which the New Hampshire friends, almost with one accord, say I ought not to quit; and I may say of those friends, without invidiousness, that there are scarcely such Abolitionists in the land as they—devoted, fearless, self-sacrificing, and sagacious of the enterprise. They say that *New Hampshire* is the anti-slavery Thermopylæ; and although we do not talk there of Leonidases, we *do talk of Spartans*. I agree with them in estimation of the importance of our mountain passes, and the spirits of our storm-bred people. The conflict among us is like the conflict Bonaparte found with the Tyrolese. We battle pro-slavery in New Hampshire, with the very masses that lay loose on the verges of our precipices. We hurl down upon the head of the enemy the stern material that gives name to our rugged little State. The enemy with us is armed also with the granite; but he has to hurl it *up hill!* He encounters us at infinite disadvantage. We hold the fortresses—the strong holds of Truth—and although we are besiegers, instead of besieged, we still *attack* from behind the battlements, and from the everlasting summits; and the poor enemy lie defenceless and exposed below. Our victories always are preceded by *battles*; and when we conquer, it is for *the cause and the whole land*. It is felt to the farthest extremity of the level country. To quit this vantage ground, with which I am familiar, and to which I feel comparatively competent,—and especially *now*, when the efficiency of our anti-slavery action and the importance of our post have drawn new organization and clerical pro-slavery in a host around it,—our friends in New Hampshire think highly unadvisable, and I cannot but think so too. This, in the anti-slavery aspect of the case, without regard to the formidableness of such a remove to a poor anti-slavery editor, with a family hardly less numerous than surrounded the *stake* of his renowned namesake at Smithfield—and without considering the pecuniary pressure of the times, when "the love of many is waxing cold," and *new organization* "every where abounds."

But why was not all this foreseen, so as to prevent my name occupying the editorial post? I will explain this, though I cannot, without confessing at least some inconsideration. After the national meeting in May, when we found our society organ had been *abducted*, and our depository taken away from us, the anti-slavery friends felt like encountering any sacrifice to supply their places. It was determined, if possible, to hoist an anti-slavery banner, in lieu of the one which had so singularly disappeared, and which, before its *transplanting*, had been borne somewhat *dubiously* before the host. With an unanimity surprising and *alarming* to me, I was designated by the friends to the critical charge of holding it to the wind. I did not see how I could possibly undertake it, and I did not *feel* like positively and absolutely declining it. I was about departing on a formidable voyage. What might occur in Providence to enable me to leave New Hampshire and go to New-York, I could not foresee. It was in vain that I admonished our friends that other names than mine ought to be assigned to that important post, and spoke of the embarrassments of my peculiar condition. They did not doubt I should be able to surmount them all, and said I *must* attempt it, and that no one else could be obtained. I did not *definitely* decline it, and, as my friends say, though I had forgotten it, assented, as I was about stepping aboard the ship, to have my name inserted as editor of the paper. Such are the main facts I now think of; and here I am, *away from my reputed post*, at the end of so long a time as this. And even now, I am utterly unable to assume it personally and on the spot, without sacrifices, which the anti-slavery friends would not permit me to undergo. The Herald of Freedom, too, I want to sustain. I cannot persuade my abler New Hampshire brethren, that they could conduct it more acceptably to the friends, and more annoyingly to the enemies of our cause, than I have. I am hoping I can carry it on, and fur

benefits which result from the efforts necessary to promote them. One, if not the highest collateral blessing of the anti-slavery excitement, has been the correction of groundless sectarian prejudices. It has been the boast of abolitionists, and justly assumed as a strong evidence of the righteousness of their cause, that men in meeting on its broad platform, seemed to forget every thing within themselves but their common humanity. Jew and Gentile, Calvinist and Quaker, Methodist and Unitarian, all joined in delightful brotherhood. This was one of the enlarging tendencies of the pursuit of truth. It has already been marred by the demon of sectarianism. O that we might resolve to crush forever this hydra-headed monster, and wear no other bonds than those of truth.

It is not sound philosophy, nor is it consistent with sober reason, to purchase one good by the sacrifice of another — Society may not be benefitted by an exchange of evils. It is a mere lottery to act on such a presumption. What would it avail if we could destroy slavery to-morrow, by the substitution of other evils just as bad? We have too much confidence in *principles*, to allow ourselves to nurture one viper for the sake of destroying another.

It is said, that the formation of sectarian societies among those who will not join the American Anti-Slavery Society, *approximates* them to that point, and that they will finally land there. This is more than doubtful. It involves directly, the question, whether it is *right* to hold up an imperfect standard for a perfect one. We say *no*, on the same ground precisely that we will not compromise freedom by consenting to an *apprenticeship system*. Never was any thing more simple and reasonable, than the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We have no faith in an abolitionism that comes short of them. We have no faith to believe that the labors of those will be blessed, who strike conditions between *bigotry* and *freedom*.

As we pursure this enquiry, the argument opens and enlarges itself. Let us ask again why should sectarianism bargain for its own preservation, before it consents to advocate liberty? Why should it deem its own life more precious than the life of truth, or its own death a greater calamity than the perpetuation of slavery? We want no stronger evidence of bigotry than is presented in the organization of societies on such false grounds. It were equally reasonable in politicians to constitute anti-slavery bodies with the proviso, as a preamble, that their *political principles* must take precedence of freedom!

We shall recur to this subject again. In the mean time, let those who adhere to religious Colonization as one mode of advancing the cause of truth and human liberty, examine their position with an impartial eye. We believe it to be a greater hindrance than African Colonization ever did or can present. It is *heresy* in its most specious form, and has already involved many excellent friends of freedom in the palpable inconsistency of pulling down with one hand what they are striving to build up with the other. The Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society contemplates the most enlarged and comprehensive freedom, without reference to arbitrary or conventional distinctions. It knows neither Baptist, Quaker, Calvinist, nor Unitarian, neither black nor white, neither European nor American. It proposes no freedom for any one class, that it does not claim for all, and it will be satisfied with nothing short of uncompromised freedom in the end, by uncompromised principle in the pursuit.

### Worcester Convention.

A very interesting and important State Convention was held at Worcester, Mass., on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week. Notwithstanding the hardnesss of the times, the deleterious influences of new organization, and the sad effects of the political whirlwind which rages with such fury in every part of the country, about 200 tried and faithful spirits enrolled their names and participated in the proceedings of the Convention. The meetings were all held in the Methodist meeting-house, a neat and commodious edifice, though not as eligibly situated as could have been wished. For an account of the organization of the Convention, we refer the reader to an article from the Liberator on the preceding page; and as to its spirit, we will leave the resolutions, which were adopted with great unanimity, to speak for themselves; only remarking, that it has never been our privilege to witness a more hearty devotion to principle, a more generous sympathy for the enslaved, or a more vigorous determination to persevere unto the end of the mighty conflict between Liberty and Slavery, than were exhibited by those who came together on this important occasion.

On two subjects of the deepest interest at this crisis, viz: the relations of the cause to political party and religious sect, great unanimity prevailed; and the resolutions relating to each were of the most faithful and uncompromising character. When the resolution relating to Harrison and Van Buren was under consideration, an incident occurred which excited very deep interest in the assembly. We allude to the noble and hearty confession made by John O. Burleigh, of Oxford, (the elder brother of C. C. Burleigh,) of his sin in having supported Harrison, and endeavoring to induce others to follow his pernicious example. He acknowledged his error in the most unequivocal terms, and made no attempt to justify himself on any pretext whatever. His remarks sent a thrill of pleasure through the Convention, which its members will not soon forget. The only person who attempted to justify voting for pro-slavery candidates was a *colored* man of Worcester, by the name of Scott. He persisted to the last in his determination to vote for that inveterate foe of freedom, W. H. Harrison, notwithstanding the overwhelming evidence which was presented of his entire subserviency to the slave power. It was lamentable to see a colored man so blinded and deluded by party, as to be willing to aid in elevating to the Presidential chair a determined enemy of the whole colored population; but let not the whites, who are determined to make the same sacrifice of their principles on the altar of party, imagine for a moment that their complexion can furnish an apology for the sin.

On Tuesday evening, Garrison and Rogers made a very interesting statement respecting the London Conference; and the state of the cause on the other side of the Atlantic. Their refusal to join the Conference met the unanimous approval of the Convention, and the accounts which they gave of what they saw and heard in England were listened to with deep attention.

Our readers will rejoice to learn, that the sum of $500 was raised in cash and pledges, (the latter to be immediately redeemed,) for the benefit of the cause. Old Massachusetts is yet strong in her integrity, and unwavering in her reliance upon Truth.

We subjoin the most important resolutions of the Convention.

Resolved, That those professed ministers of the gospel, who, at this stage of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, continue to oppose that enterprise, or neglect to preach to their hearers the duty of immediately enlisting in it, betray their high trust, and are unworthy of the support or countenance of the people.

Resolved, That those professed Abolitionists, who continue to support a pro-slavery pulpit, or to sustain pro-slavery candidates for office, show to the world that they love their own convenience and worldly interests—their party and their sect, more than they do God or the slave, and are unworthy the profession they bear.

Resolved, That all expectations of promoting the welfare of the church by the support of a pro-slavery ministry, or of promoting the pecuniary or other interests of the community, by supporting pro-slavery candidates for office, are utterly fallacious, and must of necessity end in disappointment.

Resolved, That the course of William Lloyd Garrison, N. P. Rogers, C. L. Remond, and William Adams, as delegates to the "World's Convention," in declining to take seats in the conference substituted for that body, meets with the cordial approval of this Convention, as a course entirely consistent with the principles of the societies which they represented, and imperatively called for by the ungenerous and exclusive character of that conference.

Resolved, That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in organizing the Convention held recently in London, deceived the expectations and baffled the hopes of the Abolitionists of this country, who were looking for "a World's Convention," and insulted the American Anti-Slavery Society, by dishonoring its credentials, and rejecting its delegates.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Abolitionists of this Commonwealth are specially due to Wendell Phillips, William Adams and George Bradburn, for their defence of the right of the female delegates from this country to seats in the London Conference; and that those members of that Conference from Great Britain, who stood up with these friends of humanity in defence of the right, have won for themselves the admiration and gratitude of all those whose Abolitionism is not marred and shrivelled by sectarian and party influences.

Resolved, That those bodies professing to be churches of Christ, which in any way give their sanction to slavery, or neglect to bear an *unequivocal* testimony against it, or endeavor to obstruct the action of their members who are laboring for its overthrow, are unworthy the name they have assumed, and ought not to be sustained or countenanced by Abolitionists.

Resolved, That William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren, with their accompanying candidates to the offices to which they are nominated, stand pledged before the nation as the rival enemies of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and cannot be voted for by any man who loves that cause, or professing the name of an Abolitionist, without compromising his principles and dishonoring his profession.

Resolved, That this Convention can give no countenance to the third party movement (as it is called)—that that movement is prosecuted in opposition to the sound judgment and clearly expressed voice of a large majority of the American Abolitionists—its tendency is injurious to the moral progress of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Whereas, The American Anti-Slavery Society has been treacherously and surreptitiously deprived of its former official organ, THE EMANCIPATOR, by those to whom they had confidingly entrusted the management of its affairs; and whereas, the present Executive Committee of that Society, relying upon the support and countenance of their constituents, and with a promptness and energy which do them great credit, have commenced the publication of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, to be under the editorial care of our highly esteemed brother, NATHANIEL P. ROGERS; therefore

Resolved, That this Convention earnestly commends the said paper to the confidence and liberal patronage of the Abolitionists of this Commonwealth, and of the whole country, as a journal which the great interests of our enterprize demand should be faithfully and vigorously sustained.

Resolved, That this Convention hails, with cordial approval and delight, the appearance in Great Britain of that important anti-slavery movement, the "British India Society"—formed to give liberty to enslaved and oppressed millions in India, and furnish the manufactories of the civilized world with free labor products instead of those of slave labor, and that we congratulate that movement and the cause of humanity in the services of George Thompson and Daniel O'Connell.

Resolved, That of all pro-slavery hostilities, those are most malignant and dangerous that wear the guise of abolitionism; and that of these, the most to be dreaded at this crisis, most cautiously to be guarded against, and most faithfully to be exposed, is the pro-slavery hostility of "new organization."

Resolved, That the marriage law of this Commonwealth, which degrades and punishes persons on account of their complexion, and puts asunder in an ignominious and profligate manner, those whom God has joined together, is a blot upon the character of the State, anti-republican in its operation, and diametrically opposed to the spirit of the gospel; and should be immediately erased from the Statute Book.

Resolved, That this Convention would most urgently call upon the friends of equal rights in Massachusetts to renew their petitions to the Legislature for the abrogation of this unrighteous law at its next session.

Resolved, That, in calling for the repeal of this law, we do so, not because it relates to the subject of matrimony in particular, but on the ground of its palpable absurdity, injustice and oppression.

Resolved, That petitioning Congress and the State Legislatures, in relation to the existence of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the Territories, is one of the most effective means of promoting our enterprise;—we therefore entreat Abolitionists not to remit their efforts in this particular sphere of action.

Resolved, That the passage of a resolution, by the late General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Baltimore, declaring it "inexpedient and unjustifiable to admit the testimony of colored persons in the trial of white persons," is an additional evidence that slavery is the great power which rules the church as well as the nation; and gives to that church the shameless pre-eminence of prostrating itself lowest at the shrine of slavery, by trampling on the rights of their acknowledged brethren and contemptuously in the dust.

Resolved, That this Convention recommends to the serious consideration of all philanthropists the mission of our self-denying friend, Hiram Wilson, as worthy of their confidence and deserving of such pecuniary support as they may consistently be able to afford it.

Resolved, That the prejudice cherished by many professed abolitionists against the colored people ought, on the ground of consistency, to say nothing about duty, to be immediately abolished.

Resolved, That George Thompson is hereby invited by this Convention to revisit Massachusetts at as early a day as may be consistent with his convenience.

Resolved, That the following form of petition be recommended to the citizens of Massachusetts for their adoption:

*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:*

The subscribers, citizens of in the County of and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully request of your honorable body that you will forthwith strike out and repeal so much of the first section of "an act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of government of the United States," approved July 16th, 1790, as is contained in the following words, to wit, "and until Congress shall otherwise by law provide."

### Springfield Convention.

An Anti-Slavery Convention, of the genuine old organized sort, and designed especially for the western counties of Massachusetts, was held in the delightful village of Springfield, on Thursday and Friday of last week, immediately after the Convention at Worcester. Its sessions were all held in the Unitarian meeting-house; and although the number in attendance was not as large as we could have wished, the proceedings were of the most spirited and encouraging character, and left, we doubt not, a happy impression upon the honest-hearted abolitionists of that region. Western Massachusetts, although one of the most inviting fields for anti-slavery labor to be found in all the country, has been but little cultivated hitherto. If the same amount of effort which has been expended on the seaboard, and in the region around Boston, had been put forth to abolitionize the dwellers upon the hills of old Berkshire, and in the charming valley of the Connecticut, that delightful country, instead of slumbering in the lap of indifference, or withering under the chilling blasts of new organization, would now present a glorious harvest to the eye of the anti-slavery reaper. The Convention at Springfield was the commencement of a moral campaign, which needs only to be vigorously prosecuted, to ensure complete success. Sectarianism and new organization have there done their worst, and we see their legitimate results in the general indifference of the people to the anti-slavery cause, and in the unfounded prejudices and violent hostility against genuine abolitionism which so extensively prevail. This indifference and hostility can and must be broken up. We call upon the invincible phalanx at Boston to enter this field, so promising to the eye of Faith; to break up the fallow-ground, and to scatter broad-cast upon its sunny hill-sides and in its pleasant valleys those seeds of immortal truth, which need only to be planted to secure a bountiful harvest.

The Convention was organized by the choice of Dr. *Jefferson Church*, of Springfield, President; Amos Farnsworth, of Groton, Daniel Carmichael, of Springfield, and Nathan Johnson, of New Bedford, Vice Presidents; Wm. M. Chace, Secretary. Among the speakers were Garrison, Rogers, W. O. Duvall, Abby Kelley, Wm. M. Chace, and G. W. F. Mellen. Intense interest was excited on Friday evening, when the question of new organization was under discussion Deacon Jerome, of Springfield, and some others, undertook to defend it. They were evidently laboring under false impressions in relation to its character and objects; and we have good reason for believing that those impressions were, to some extent, at least, removed. Garrison had never visited that region before, and the sight of him was sufficient to diminish no small share of the prejudice which new organization had excited. The presence and labors of Abby Kelley, also, were of great service to the Convention. The dignity of her appearance, her unassuming modesty, and the calmness and fidelity with which she enunciated truth, did much to disarm unreasonable and vulgar opposition to the public efforts of her sex. The efforts of new organization to stop the mouth of woman, and prevent her from pleading in behalf of outraged humanity, will yet recoil upon its head with a force which shall lay it prostrate at the feet of abused and insulted Truth. We bid it beware how it tampers with humanity in the persons of those whose hearts are swelling with sympathy for the oppressed, and whose calm but indignant voice, as it is borne upon free winds to the ear of the Southern oppressor, fills him with fearful and ominous forebodings of that mighty moral tempest which shall yet lay his blood-stained system in the dust.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Convention, with great unanimity, after a free and full discussion of their merits.

Resolved, That the enslavement of one sixth of the people of this country ought to silence forever all its claims to christianity, republicanism, or civilization; it ought to cover us as a nation, and those of us who silently give their assent to it, as individuals, with the infamy that attaches to the greatest of crimes.

Resolved, That slaveholding is a moral offence against God and man—and not to be cleansed away by any influence short of heartfelt repentance and moral reformation.

Resolved, That in the estimation of this Convention, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in assuming to determine upon the qualifications for admission to the late anti-slavery meeting in London, on the call for the "World's Convention," transcended their authority, which extended merely to the right of calling the meeting and providing the place for it; and that that Committee deserves the indignant rebuke of the American Abolitionists for this assumption, and for presuming to reject a part of the delegation from this country to that meeting; and this Convention deeply regret that the London Conference sanctioned the doings of that Committee, and still more deeply, that any from this side the Atlantic, bearing the name of Abolitionists, were found ready to participate in a transaction so unbecoming the professed advocates of human liberty.

Resolved, That those among us who occupy posts of the greatest influence are the most deeply involved in the guilt of our national slaveholding.

Resolved, That the commanding posts of influence in relation to slavery and its abolition are occupied by the professed ministers of the gospel.

Resolved, That genuine abolitionism is a working, giving, self-sacrificing abolitionism; and all else is worthless and spurious.

Resolved, That the attempt now making by certain professed abolitionists to organize a third political party in this country, ought to be discountenanced by all who are desirous of preserving he moral integrity, and of witnessing the speedy triumph of the anti-slavery cause.

Resolved, That no man can vote for Wm. Henry Harrison or Martin Van Buren, without voting directly to sustain slavery; and he who votes for slavery has no title to the name of "abolitionist."

Whereas, the anti-slavery enterprise is designed to effect a single object,—the emancipation, by moral and religious means, of our enslaved brethren and sisters, and the elevation and improvement of the colored people in our land; and whereas, in order to accomplish this humane purpose, it is desirable and necessary that there should be a union of members of all religious sects, and persons of every shade of religious belief; therefore,

1. Resolved, That any attempt to identify this enterprise with the peculiar religious or political opinions of any man or body of men, is a breach of that faith which is necessary to harmonious action, and should meet the indignant frown of all who have at heart the welfare of the slave.

2. Resolved, That to point the finger of scorn or reproach at any individual in our ranks, on account of his sentiments in relation to other subjects, or to refuse to co-operate with him in labors for the advancement of the cause, betrays a spirit of sectarianism and intolerance, which is hostile to the great principles of our enterprize.

3. Resolved, That the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, for their firm and fearless course, in refusing to exclude from our common platform, or to censure any person on account of sex or religious opinion, and for their faithful exertions to preserve the cause from the blighting and withering influences of sect and party, are entitled to the confidence and support of all the friends of humanity.

Resolved, That among the most important moral and philanthropic movements of the age, the formation of the British India Society, for the abolition of slavery in British India, and the rescue of one hundred and fifty millions of the natives of that country from British injustice and oppression, is to be hailed with the deepest interest; especially, as the successful prosecution of the grand object of that Society cannot fail to inflict a heavy blow upon the system of slavery in this country, by bringing cotton raised by free labor into competition with slave-grown cotton.

Resolved, That this Convention learn with great pleasure that an invitation has been extended to GEORGE THOMPSON to revisit our shores and participate with us in the glorious struggle for the supremacy of liberty over slavery.

Resolved, That the pro-slavery spirit of the country manifests itself at this crisis, in its most insidious, malignant and dangerous form, under the anti-slavery guise of new organization; and, as such, demands of all friends of the slave prompt exposure and most faithful reprehension.

Resolved, That whoever supports the longer continuance of slavery, whether by actual practice, defence or apology, by ecclesiastical or political influence, or by that silence which gives consent, is more or less guilty of the crime of man-stealing.

Resolved, That American Slavery is a complication of the foulest crimes, such as man-stealing, robbery, concubinage and murder; and no person should be recognized or sustained as a christian minister, who refuses to identify himself with the anti-slavery enterprise, and bear an open and vigorous testimony against the system.

Whereas, prejudice against the people of color is the result of the condition into which they have been thrust by the oppression and tyranny which have been exercised towards them; therefore,

Resolved, That the American people are doubly guilty in this matter, inasmuch as they are adding insult to injury, by despising those whom they have degraded, and continuing that degradation by the contempt.

Resolved, That the resolutions on the subject of slavery, recently adopted by the Hampden Association of Congregational ministers, are unsound in principle, cold in spirit, and betray an indifference to the wrongs of the slave, and a hardness of heart, incompatible alike with sound Abolitionism and with the character of ministers of Christ.

### Seventh Annual Report.

The Seventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society is out of press, and may be had at this office. The Address of the present Executive Committee, in relation to the division in our ranks, is also published in connection with the Report. As historical documents, both are important; and all who wish to preserve a record of the origin and cause of new organization, should possess a copy. Price, 25 cents, single; $2 per dozen.

ON THE FIRST PAGE will be found the soul-thrilling speeches of Thompson and Remond at a meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and a sound and valuable article on Immediateism, from the Cincinnati Philanthropist. We are sorry to perceive that our friend Remond avowed himself in favor of *individual* insurrection. We can readily understand the feelings which lead a colored man to speak in such terms, but his language is hardly in accordance with the character of primitive abolitionism.

☞ The Emancipator and Massachusetts Abolitionist are in error in supposing that Amasa Walker is a member of the Massachusetts Board. He resigned several months ago, and before he began his electioneering efforts in favor of Van Buren.

VERMONT.—The semi-annual meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society is to be held at Montpelier on the 20th inst. C. C. Burleigh is to be present. The meeting will no doubt be an interesting one.

FAIR AT WORCESTER.—An Anti-Slavery Fair was held at Worcester during the sessions of the Convention lately held in that place. The amount received, we understand, was about $200.

☞ L. W. Gilbert's letter is received, but too late for this week's paper. It will appear in our next.

☞ Will our friends at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston send us a file of the Monthly Offering?

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—The annual meeting of the American Free Produce Association will be held in Philadelphia on the 20th inst.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*To the Editor of the A. S. Standard:*

In an article having reference to the question, how far it was justifiable to assail men for expressing the opinion that it was necessary or expedient to call in the aid of human selfishness to effect emancipation, written for the Pennsylvania Freeman, speaking from memory, and without professing to give the precise words, I represented the Standard as having expressed, "in substance," the sentiment, that there was no hope of success in the anti-slavery movement from a reliance on the truth and justice of the principles of abolition, [alone, and without the aid of appeals to human selfishness.]

You have denied that you "ever said any thing of the kind," and have called for the evidence. In conformity to your request, I furnish you with the following extracts from the first number of your paper, which, according to my understanding of language, fully express the sentiment attributed by me to the Standard.

"We hold it as a certain truth, that the people of the North can never be enlisted in the cause of abolitionism, unless they can be awakened to the fact, that slavery jeopards their own rights in taking away the rights of the slave."

"He, [the northern laborer,] must be made to feel that his brother, dark-skinned though he be, must find his way up to his level, or he must sink to the level of chattelship, and spend his earthly existence amid the influence that slavery creates. *This conviction once inwrought, and the work is done.* Strong as are his prejudices, much as his aristocracy grieves at the thought of the colored man's equality, *he loves his own liberty too well, to offer it a sacrifice to his self-esteem.* In our opinion, *success* depends upon our radicalism in making this cause the cause of the people."

"When the politican, the merchant, the churchman, the clergyman, the man of wealth and the working man, shall discover that slavery is not satisfied with robbing the colored man, but is determined to sway the sceptre of power over the whole domain, and hoist from our highest hill-tops her flag of supremacy; then will the people be found, as they always have been, on the side of liberty. *To this issue the contest must eventually come*, and we are glad of it. The wives, and children, and sisters of the hardy north-men must sink to the degradation of chattelship, and undergo the tortutres of the southern bond-men, or the slave must feel his shackles snap, and rise to the enjoyment of the blessings they so highly prize.

"*Then will our highest hopes be fulfilled, our loftiest expectations answered.* Freedom for all will be the motto for all."

Having given you these quotations from your columns, I will further remark, that in your article of the 8th instant, you say that I charge you with insinuating, without proof, "that Judge Savage is an opponent of abolition." If you will examine, carefully, my article, you will find that I made no such charge: nor did I pretend to say whether the Judge was, or was not, an opponent of abolition.

Again, you represent me as speaking of your "misquoting Mr. Stewart." If you will look again at my article in the Freeman, you will find, that I neither said, nor insinuated, that you had misquoted him. I will now say, however, that if you quoted him correctly in your former article, you have quoted him erroneously, or quoted a different part of his speech, in your paper of the 8th; for the latter quotation differs from the former, in words, and, as I think, in import also. Yours, &c. A.

Phila. Oct. 10th, 1840.

[☞ We leave it to the brother who had charge of the Standard at the time alluded to above, to answer the argument of "A." if he thinks it necessary.]

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

### To the Rich.

From Lady Byron, and other Poems of M'Donald Clarke

The Almighty's money—never lent
For avarice to meanly hide,
But to be broadly, boldly spent,
Not in vanity, or pride,

But in the Christian's cheerless cause,
That strives with selfish aims,
With creatures, turned from Duty's laws,
And Sorrow's weeping claims.

Starve not the human heart,
Let charity its wants appease,
And the widow's tears will start,
And she will bless you, on her knees.

Think, while you grip your gold,
Of homeless outcasts of the street,
Worn with wandering, hunger, cold,
With famished face, and freezing feet.

Think, while you lounge upon
Your damask couches, smooth and soft,
Of many a mother, daughter, son,
Whose lodgings are—a loft;

And what is wretchedness indeed,
The moral poverty that lets
The soul run waste, till many a weed
The feeble flower of virtue frets.

Think, while you see your child
Rich in the cherish'd truths of Time,
Of those whose memories never smiled,
The bastard intellects of crime.

Remember, while your little ones
Crowd cheerily about the fire,
The girl who, to keep from freezing, runs,
And never knew her earthly sire.

Think, O think of those
Whom God's confided to your care,
And Heaven will guard your heart's repose,
And Angels nurse your memory there.

*October* 10, 1840.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MR. ROGERS—In your paper of the 3d September, you ask:—"Where is this new fangled party that is to sweep slavery from this land, as with the besom of destruction, to get its power?" Permit me to show how such a party might acquire its power; and to say that in the hope the third party will do so, I am acting with them. I speak for myself, and not on behalf of the third party.

It should indeed and in fact plant its feet on the Declaration of American Independence. It should take man as he is—as God has made him. It should check the silly cry about the *poor slave* and the *benevolent* Anti-Slavery Society. It should ask *man* to do, as he will; to decide the question according to his views of his *self-interest*, and it should throw before the whole people, enlarged and enlightened views of the common welfare, and of individual advantage. God has not make the happiness of the world to depend on our mere *benevolence*—on our pure love of doing good without any regard to ourselves. It is one of the irrevocable decrees of our existence, that, politically, we cannot take care of ourselves, without protecting the rights of our neighbors. When we shall reverse the order of the planets, or check the ebbing and flowing of the ocean, or cause the great rivers of our globe to take the upward course, then will it be wise to talk about taking care of ourselves, by neglecting the rights of our neighbors.

There are two classes of men who will sustain such a party, and they are the great majority of the people of the United States. I mean those who are not rich, and those who are, but whose benevolence and consciousness—whose hearts are not seared with the hot iron of gain, and whose intellects are not in the gross darkness of aristocratic midnight. If slavery is ever peacably abolished, it must be by the combined political action of these classes of our fellow-citizens. United they will make such an overwhelming majority, that the slaveholder will not think of physical resistance. Even in the South they will be more than three to one. Such a party would have, first, those who are able to hold slaves, but are too wise to do so. Secondly, those who have slaves, but are too good to wish to keep them.—Thirdly, all the whites who are unable to own slaves. Fourthly, the free negroes and slaves, many of whom are the descendants of our most distinguished men. The moral force of all these would be in favor of such a party, and so far as voting is concerned, the three first classes are a vast majority in the south. The whole number of slaveholders has been estimated by Dr. Brisbane, of South Carolina, at only 250,000, or about equal to the vote of Ohio. I need make no calculation for the North; you know the laboring interest predominates there.

Do you ask what should be the principles of such a party? I reply, just such as naturally flow from the Declaration of Independence. If all men are born free, all men have a right to the reward of their labor. If it is wrong to make a man a slave, and rob him of all his labor, it is wrong, by force or fraud, to take any part of it without a just equivalent. If man is born free, then is he born equal heir to the atmosphere, the earth and the water of the world, and no law should step between him and his God and rob him of his just rights. Consequently such a party could sustain no law, the tendency of which is to throw unequal burthens on the different members of community. It therefore would oppose every species of monopoly. It would go against every kind of banks, the profits and advantages of which were not equal to all the people, and could of course sustain none in which the people, as such, were not the stockholders. It would restrain the sales of the public lands, (if it sold them at all,) to actual settlers; for on the principle of natural rights, men should not claim dominion over land, they never expect to cultivate, and much less should a government established for the protection of all, and especially the weak, give facility to such unjust claims. Such a party should show that slavery is eating the very vitals out of the nation; that it causes the whole action of the government to turn on the axiom, that *man* has a right to take the labor of man by force or fraud; that it reduces the wages of the free, by the competition of those who are made to work for absolutely nothing; that it dishonors the white laboring citizen, by ignobly classing him with slaves; and as though carpenters, and masons, and blacksmiths, and field hands, were made for no other use, it blazons them for sale in the public papers, and places them on the stand, in the face of the world, at auction, while it bows gracefully to wealth, though the owner may have a dusky hue, and never sells any man of *property* and *standing*; that it subjects free laborers to the onerous and dangerous obligation, to suppress insurrections; that it exposes our country to invasion and war; that it gives us such a palpable and known weakness, as induces foreign nations to make the most haughty demands, and to which conscious imbecility will cause us to submit; that it will demand a standing army—for where there is nakedness, and cold, and hunger, and contempt, there must be fixed bayonets, or there will be insurrection; and tried by this rule, even in the North, a standing army will soon be needed; that when it gets the standing army, just to keep down the *niggers*, and the *few poor devilish* whites, then, as in every other despotism, it can go more openly to crushing the many, to minister to the wealth and pride of the few; that it is cursing the country North and South, with an ignorant and degraded race, that morally are as a walking pestilence, and that enter our corn-cribs and hen-roosts unbidden, and whom it utterly refuses that we shall educate and elevate to the condition of men, knowing their rights and performing their duties; that it is destroying our commerce internally, by rendering the poor blacks and whites of the South unable to buy, and the slaveholders bad paymasters—and externally, by wounding the moral feelings of foreigners, who are refusing to trade with us, and are endeavoring by competition to ruin our market, because, as a nation, we whip naked women and anoint them with pepper and salt, and tear from their mothers' breasts, infants that have not sinned; and that it is, in the selection of officers and in the policy of government, doing every thing which a bold and artful despotism can to uphold its fundamental principle, that the many should labor and live only for the benefit of the few; that in the South, already freedom of speech and of the press are stricken down; that in the North these exists rather in name than in fact; that in both portions of the Union it is deluding the ignorant poor, and making them believe it is their interest to work in competition with slaves, who toil for nothing, and that it trusts to sustain itself, and to rob both the poor white man and the poor black man, by causing them to hate each other.

Such a party, too, would go for an equal right of suffrage for all the people, in voting for the officers of the General Government, without regard to the lands, horses, or men, they might claim as theirs. It would insist on giving the election of President directly to the people, and that the votes of freemen should count equally, whether they lived north or south. It would make no invidious distinctions between the North and the South, but would speak against tyranny every where. It would not plead with slaveholders to abolish slavery, because free labor is cheaper, for this is equivalent to building temples to worship the Devil in. It would talk and whine little about the poor negro, as distinct from any other poor and injured man, nor would it suffer the bank interest to swallow up its sympathy for both. In conclusion, I repeat, if slavery is ever peaceably abolished in the United States, it must be by a political combination in favor of the just interests and rights of men, in unison with which will be their benevolence and conscientiousness; or, in other words, the whole man must be appealed to, to act politically, in harmony with others, in behalf of his own highest welfare.

For man, sincerely yours,
ELI NICHOLS.

*Loydsville, Belmont co. Ohio, Sept.* 20, 1840.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

### Public Meeting of the Colored Citizens of New-York, British West India Emigration, &c.

According to public notice, the colored citizens of New-York met at the Asbury Church, Elizabeth street, on Tuesday evening the 29th of September, 1840.

After a prayer, the object of the meeting was stated, and the attention of the assembly was called to the claims of the Mirror of Liberty.

Mr. Edward Yates was introduced, and interested the meeting with heart-rending statements relative to the suffering emigrants who colonized from this country to Trinidad, in the West Indies, among whom was himself and family. He left the latter in West Indies more comfortable than many of his friends; still they are in a suffering state, from which he wished to relieve them.

Wm. Waugh's pamphlet, containing a statement of facts in relation to the customs and the treatment of the emigrants by the planters in Trinidad, was called for and read.

Mr. Abram Caldwell was introduced to the meeting, and gave a statement confirming all with which the meeting had already been interested.

Several other persons from the West Indies, who were expected to be present, were called for by the meeting, but did not appear.

Mr. Jacob Jones, recently from the island of Trinidad, was invited forward. He stated many things, and underwent a rigid examination by Messrs. Van Ransalear, Ruggles, Olney, Seaman, Frazier, and others.

After a short intermission, Mr. Jones was called for the second time, but did not appear.

The gentlemen who had preceded him were also questioned.

The meeting was appropriately addressed by Mr. David Rue, presenting the British West India emigration scheme in an odious light. His remarks were received with a hearty response, after which the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That this meeting commend Edward Yates and his case, to the consideration of the hospitable citizens of New-York, that they may afford him the means to relieve his suffering family, now in the inhospitable island of Trinidad.

The meeting adjourned.

EDMUND CROSBY, *Chairman.*
WM. WAUGH, *Secretary.*

### The Mirror of Liberty.

PROSPECTUS.

THE MIRROR OF LIBERTY will enter the *arena*, monthly, in behalf of the dumb, for the immediate emancipation and full enfranchisement of three millions of my down-trodden countrymen and women, in this,

"Our own,
Our native land;"

For the restoration of *equal rights* to all mankind. It will advocate reform, radical reform, in every ramification of society. It will go for the "largest liberty," personal, political, and religious.

TERMS.—The Mirror of Liberty will be published monthly, and will contain 16 quarto pages, neatly covered, at $1.50 per annum, or twelve and a half cents a number; payable on delivery in all places where there are thirty-six subscribers; where there is less than thirty-six patrons, they will pay in advance.

The friends of human nature will serve the cause by forwarding their names and *means* as subscribers for this periodical. The monthly volume will commence after the appearance of the next number, which will close the quarterly volume.

Our friends are requested to send subscribers and pledges without delay, and thereby enable us to commence the monthly volume on the terms proposed.

All communications must be *post-paid*, and addressed to the editor, at New-York city.

DAVID RUGGLES, *Editor and Publisher.*

New-York, October 1st, 1840.

P. S. The patrons and friends of the Mirror have been informed that it was suspended in consequence of the "severe hardships" which the editor has been called to sustain during his trial in the "celebrated Darg case."

From the Colored American.

### Obituary.

'——the good die first;
But they whose hearts are dry as summer's dust,
Burn to the socket.'

We are again called upon to pay our humble tribute to the memory of a dear friend. The mortal tenement of WM. S. Jinnings is no longer a habitant of this earth; the grave has claimed him as its victim, and his soul has returned to the God who gave it.

Wm. S. Jiunings was born in this city about the year 1810. Trained to habits of business, which, added to natural industry and perseverance, urged him always onward, at an early age, with an enterprising spirit worthy of emulation, he established himself in business in the city of Boston, where, by his correct deportment and unspotted life, he won the esteem and affection of all who knew him.

His application to his business did not alienate him from the cause of liberty, neither did it withdraw his attention from literature. His devotion to the interests of the slave, and his suffering people, is well known; and his efforts to improve our literary character are felt both in this city, and in Boston, and we hope duly appreciated.

About two years ago Mr. Jinnings married the amiable Miss Maria B. Smith, of this city. Their union (a very happy one) was short. On the 22d of Aptil last, Maria was summoned to enter into the joys of the blest, leaving an infant, which, within five months, followed its sainted mother, and now mother, child and father are again united in that life which knows no death.

Before the decease of his wife, the fell destroyer, consumption, had set his seal upon his brow; and about two months ago his physicians recommended that he should pass the winter in a warmer climate; by easy stages he was journeying South, and had proceeded as far as Burlington, N. J., when exhausted nature gave way before the march of the fatal disease. He lingered until Tuesday, 29th September, when his pure spirit winged its flight to the mansions of eternal bliss.

Companion of my childhood's early days! Friend of my youth! Brother, farewell! AMO.

## GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

*Maryland Election.*—The Whig majority in the State, as shown by the results of the election for Members of the Legislature on the 7th inst. is about 2550. At the election for Congressmen last year, there was a V. B. majority of 1077. In 1838, on Governor, 311. At the Presidential election in 1836, the Whig ticket succeeded by a majority of 3685. Whig gain from 1839, 3627; do. from 1838, 2861; Whig loss from 1836, 1135.

*Third Party in Connecticut.*—There was a meeting of Abolitionists at Hartford, Ct., on the 26th of August, to discuss the expediency of organizing a "third party." They met at 1 o'clock, P. M., 34 persons were present; adjourned to halt past 5—8 attended; adjourned to the morning of the 27th—17 attended.

A motion was made to proceed to nominate a third party electoral ticket.

Eight voted yea, and nine nay. The minority then retired by themselves, (with a stranger who had been in the state only 90 days as their leader,) and had the extreme modesty to nominate a "third party" list of Presidential Electors for the 58,000 electors of the State of Connecticut.

X.

*Change in Times.*—To see men, who three years ago were strutting about town, making hundreds and thousands by speculation, now engaged in carrying eggs to market, peddling fresh fish, or tending a shanty by the way side for the sale of fruits and beer, is pretty good evidence that times have changed—and not for the worse, if they have brought people to an honest, though humble means of livelihood.

*Emigrating Indians.*—It is stated in the Ottawa (Ill.) Free Trader, that between five and six hundred Indians, of the Pottowattama and Ottowa tribes, from the northern part of Indiana, passed through that place on on the 27th ult., or, their way to their future homes west of the Mississippi river. They were to be followed in a few days by a number of the same tribes who refused to remove voluntarily, but have been compelled to do so by the agent, who had called the military to his assistance.

*Execution.*—John Evans was executed for the murder of John C. Ritter, at Sandusky, Ohio, on Wednesday week.—The gallows on which the unfortunate man suffered the penalty of the law was erected on the common, back of the town, and the execution was witnessed by a large assembly of people, and three or four *volunteer companies in uniform*. He addressed the spectators, and was understood to say that drunkenness and infidelity had brought him to his miserable situation. He said he was born in Newfoundland in 1811, and his father and mother died while young, and he had been apprenticed to a farmer in Bedford, Mass. in whose service in a drunken fit he fell from the top of a wagon, and received an injury that resulted in the amputation of his leg above the knee. After this he was bound to a tailor at Plymouth, from whom he ran away and went to Lowell, from which he was compelled to fly for inflicting a wound on a man's head with a stone, and had since worked as a journeyman tailor in various parts of the United States.

*Lynching.*—We learn from the Iowa News, that a black man, named Nathaniel Moigan, being suspected of stealing by some of the riotous inhabitants of Dubuque, was taken outside of the town, beaten till he confessed a theft he had never committed, and then beaten to death because he could not prove his guilt by producing the goods.

*New Colony in Africa.*—A French paper gives an account of

### On a Picture by J. M. Wright, Esq.

BY ROBERT SOUTHEY.

[Engraved for the Keepsake.]

I.

The sky-lark hath perceived his prison-door
Unclosed; for liberty the captive tries:
Puss eagerly hath watched him from the floor,
And in her grasp he flutters, pants and dies.

II.

Lucy's own puss, and Lucy's own dear bird,
Her foster'd favorites both for many a day,
That which the tender-hearted girl preferr'd,
She in her fondness knew not, sooth to say.

III.

For if the sky-lark's pipe were shrill and strong,
And its rich tones the thrilling ear might please,
Yet Pussy'd could breathe a fireside song
As winning, when she lay on Lucy's knees.

IV.

Both knew her voice, and each alike would seek
Her eye, her smile, her fondling touch to gain;
How faintly, then, may words her sorrow speak,
When by the one she sees the other slain.

V.

The flowers fall scatter'd from her lifted hand;
A cry of grief she utters in affright;
And self-condemn'd for negligence she stands
Aghast and helpless at the cruel sight.

VI.

Come, Lucy, let me dry those tearful eyes;
Take thou, dear child, a lesson not unholy,
From one whom nature taught to moralize,
Both in his mirth and in his melancholy.

VII.

I will not warn thee not to set thy heart
Too fondly upon perishable things;
In vain the earnest preacher spends his art
Upon that theme; in vain the poet sings.

VIII.

It is our nature's strong necessity,
And this the soul's unerring instincts tell:
Therefore I say, let us love worthily,
Dear child, and then we cannot love too well.

IX.

Better it is all losses to deplore,
Which dutiful affection can sustain,
Than that the heart should, in its inmost core,
Harden without it, and have lived in vain.

X.

This love which thou hast lavish'd, and the wo
Which makes thy lip now quiver with distress,
Are but a vent, an innocent overflow,
From the deep springs of female tenderness.

XI.

And something I would teach thee from the grief
That thus hath fill'd those gentle eyes with tears,
The which may be thy sober, sure relief,
When sorrow visits thee in after years.

XII.

I ask not, whither is the spirit flown
That lit the eye which there in death is seal'd;
Our Father hath not made that mystery known;
Needless the knowledge, therefore not reveal'd.

XIII.

But didst thou know, in sure and sacred truth,
It had a place assign'd in yonder skies,
There, through an endless life of joyous youth,
To warble in the bowers of Paradise,

XIV.

Lucy, if then the power to thee were given,
In that cold form its life to re-engage,
Wouldst thou call back the warbler from its Heaven,
To be again the tenant of a cage!

XV.

Only that thou mightst cherish it again,
Wouldst thou the object of thy love recal
To mortal life, and chance, and change, and pain,
And death, which must be suffered once by all.

XVI.

Oh, no, thou say'st: oh, surely not, not so!
I read the answer which those looks express;
For pure and true affection, well I know,
Leaves in the heart no room for selfishness.

XVII.

Such love of all our virtues is the gem;
We bring with us the immortal seed at birth:
Of heaven it is, and heavenly; wo to them
Who make it wholly earthly and of earth!

XVIII.

What we love perfectly, for its own sake
We love, and not our own, being ready thus
Whate'er self-sacrifice is ask'd, to make;
That which is best for it, is best for us

XIX.

O Lucy! treasure up that pious thought!
It hath a balm for sorrow's deadliest darts;
And with true comfort thou wilt find it fraught,
If grief should reach thee in thy heart of hearts.

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### Old Age.

Yes, I am old;—my strength declines,
And wrinkles tell the touch of time,
Yet might I fancy these the signs,
Not of decay, but manhood's prime;
For all within is young and glowing,
Spite of old age's outward showing.

Yes, I am old;—the ball, the song,
The turf, the gun, no more allure;
I shun the gay and gilded throng:
Yet, ah! how far more sweet and pure
Home's tranquil joys, and mental treasures,
Than dissipation's proudest pleasures!

Yes, I am old;—Ambition's call—
Fame, wealth, distinction's keen pursuit,
That once could charm and cheat me—all
Are now detected, passive, mute.
Thank God! the passions and their riot
Are barter'd for content and quiet.

Yes, I am old;—but as I press
The vale of years with willing feet,
Still do I find life's sorrows less,
And all its hallow'd joys more sweet:
Since time, for every rose he snatches,
Takes fifty thorns, with all their scratches.

My wife—God bless her! is as dear
As when I plighted first my troth;
I feel in every child's career,
The joys of renovated youth:
And as to nature—I behold her
With fresh delight as I grow older.

Yes, I am old;—and death hath ta'en
Full many a friend, to memory dear;
Yet, when I die, 'twill soothe the pain
Of quitting my survivors here,
To think how all will be delighted,
When in the skies again united!

Yes, I am old;—experience now,
That best of guides, hath made me sage,
And thus instructed, I avow
My firm conviction, that old age,
Of all our various terms of living,
Deserves the warmest, best thanksgiving!

*Tin Trumpet.*

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### Extracts from the Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society.

EFFECTS OF THE MORAL TRAINING.

2. Incidents to show the good effects of practically exercising Honesty and Truth; to the end of superseding another branch of criminal jurisprudence.

1. One of the children lost a halfpenny in the play ground.—The mistress was so certain that it would be found and accounted for, that she lent the loser a halfpenny. Some time after, when the incident was nearly forgotten, one of the boys, J. F. found a halfpenny in the play-ground, and although no one saw him find it, he brought it at once to the teacher. As the latter knew nothing about the loss of a halfpenny already alluded to, it appeared to him a halfpenny without an owner; but one of the children suggested that it must be the lost halfpenny for which the mistress had given the substitute. "What, then, shall be done with it?" Many voices answered "the mistress should get it." The girl who lost the halfpenny was called out, and at once knew her own. It was given to her, and she immediately transferred it to the mistress.—The teacher then appealed to the whole school. "Is that right?" "Yes! yes! right! right!" was called out by the whole assemblage, with much applause and animation. This last accompaniment of their approbation is strongly contrasted with the more tranquil and evidently regretting way in which they condemn, when anything is wrong.

2. A penny was found in the play-ground, which had laid so long as to be mouldy and rusty. It was held up for an owner, but claimed by none. "What shall we do with it?" "Keep it, master, keep it." "Why should I keep it,—I have no right to it more than any one here."—This was puzzling to all, till a little girl, not four years old, stood up and said, "Put it in the box." Many voices seconded this excellent motion, and the master referred it to a show of hands; up went every hand in the school, most of the children showing both hands for a greater certainty, and the penny was put into the subscription-box amid cheers of animation and delight.

3. Immediately before the vacation in August, 1830, three boys plucked a few black currants, which had ripened on the play-ground wall; fruit and flowers being cultivated to exercise self-denial and refinement in the children. One of the boys kept to himself double the quantity which he vouchsafed to each of the other two, but gave a part to a fourth boy, who had seen the transaction, evidently to purchase his silence; but thinking this hopeless, he took back the gift, and struck the boy to give it up, remarking, that as he knew he would *tell*, he the speaker need not lose his berries into the bargain. They all confessed,—and expressed their sorrow, except the striker, decidedly in all respects the most guilty, who maintained a bold and hardened countenance. The voice of the school was, however, merciful to them all, which so much affected the last-mentioned offender that he burst into tears. A clergyman, one of the Directors, was present, whose eye the boy caught, and instantly brushed away his tears, and joined in the hymn which was sung at the moment. He staid behind the rest, assiduously assisted the master to put away the things, a civility he never showed before, and begged to shake hands with him when he went away.

4. P. M. was brought to solemn trial, before the whole school, for keeping up a penny of his weekly school-fee. After the trial and award, which were both just and judicious, the teacher asked the school, "How many of us have been tried now?" A voice called out, "J. H. has been tried." This was indignantly denied by J. H.—The teacher turning to J. M. asked him if he had ever been tried? He hung his head, and answered "Yes." "What was it for?" "Master, do you not remember, yourself?" "I do;—but are you any the better of your trial and punishment?" "I've never stolen since, any how."

"What was your reason for not stealing?" I listened to the *thing in my breast*, and that told me it was a crime."

J. M.'s offense had been watching, all the time of school, a penny piece which had been dropped under the stove, and secretly appropriating it when the school was dismissed. His confession bore that his first purpose was to buy bowls (marbles,) but he felt so unhappy that he could not make up his mind to *look upon* what he should purchase, and formed the singular resolution to expend the money in something eatable, that he might get it out of his sight! This he did, and gave a share to a school-fellow. He was asked whether his conscience did not upbraid him. He answered, "It did not speak very loud at first; but I grew very unhappy, and was happier after I was tried and punished." His contrite tears moved the compassion of his numerous judges, who wished to spare him; but this was not admissible in the circumstances, and a few pats on the hand were the form of corporal punishment alloted him. He was sorely tempted, for he confessed that he kept his eye on the penny-piece for two hours before he took it.

5. The following incident was communicated by a gentleman from England, Dr. Harrison Black, who, in company with the Chevalier de Frasans, Judge of Assize under Charles X. witnessed the whole occurrence: The Chevalier de Frasans being present, the master was suddenly called into the play-ground, in consequence of a cry that one boy had struck another on the forehead, so as to make the blood flow: All the children were immediately called in, and inquiry made as to who had been witnesses of the affair. Those who presented themselves were sent into an adjoining room, and the injured party desired to state his grievance. He simply said, T. B. had "struck him with a spade" (which had for a moment been left by a workman,) and that he did not believe it had been done on purpose. The offending party being called, said, "J. M. had told him he could not lift up the spade, and in trying to show that he could do it, the blow was given." The witnesses were called in, one by one, and gave their testimony with great clearness, particularly a little Quaker girl. They all corroborated the statement of the accused party.

The teacher then asked of the whole assembly of children, "What punishment ought to be awarded?" The general cry was, "Three palmies," (*i. e.* three pats upon the palm of the hand,) because that punishment had been a few days before awarded to H. S. But one boy rose, and exclaimed, "No, that is not fair, for H. S. told a falsehood about the fault he had committed, and T. B. did not tell any falsehood."

The justice of this remark seemed to be generally understood; as part only of the punishment was determined upon. The culprit was then reminded, that although the blow had not been given intentionally, still he had broken a law which forbade all the children to touch the tools of the workmen, and was made sensible that the punishment was not inflicted because the teacher was angry, but because he, T. B. had broken a law. The truth of this the little offender fully acknowledged to the bystanders, as well as to his master and school-fellows.—The punishment actually inflicted was a gentle tap upon the hand.

Hereupon a new and unexpected scene arose, the *offended party* seeing that all around concurred in condemning the offender, cried out, "I'll find a coachman's whip, and lash him." This gave occasion to another appeal to the children, as to the injustice of this threatened second punishment, and ended by the threatener being made sensible that all present were now against *him*. As a proof, he said, "Don't be frightened, Tom, I'll not whip you, or tell my father." It appeared that he had been so short a time in the school, as not to have become imbued with the governing principles of the place.

6. A little boy came to school with his hands covered with paint. He applied to the teacher's sister to aid him in his extremity, which she did effectually by dint of hot water and soap. He promised to reward her with a halfpenny, whenever he should get one. She, wishing to try him, asked him some days afterwards if he had forgotten his promise. He answered, No, but that he had put the first halfpenny he had got into the poor's plate at church. Having soon after got a halfpenny from a lady, he rung the teacher's house-bell, and gave the money to his creditor, who took it, but after some days restored it.

3. Proofs of the success of the System, in its fundamental principle of governing by Love, and not by Fear, and that consistently with the most perfect order and discipline.

1. The master one day intimated that he wanted a number of articles, of a kind which he enumerated, to illustrate the lessons. He was next day inundated with all sorts of odds and ends, every child bringing with him something—leather, feathers, cloths, silk, stones, wood, glass, &c. &c.

2. Accidentally saying that he would come and visit his pupils at their own homes, and if he did, how would they entertain him, the question was answered, by a burst of hospitality, and the number and variety of the articles of cheer enumerated were too much for his gravity. He observed however, that *whiskey was not* among the temptations offered him, in the competition for the preference of his company.

3. A parent came one day to the school, expressly to be satisfied on the puzzle, as he said, it was to him, how a *schoolmaster* could render himself the object of love! His own was always the object of terror; and, instead of running to him when he appeared, he and his schoolmates went off in the opposite direction, with the greatest alertness. His boy, he said, runs *to* the master whenever he sees him, and is proud to come home and tell that he has shaken hands with Mr. Wright, of whom, as well as of Mrs. Wright and Maggy, (the latter a worthy of three years old, the master's child, who sets an example to the whole school) he never ceases to speak.

Mr. Wright requested the inquirer to remain, and see how he treated his scholars. He did so, and witnessed the kindness, the cheerfulness, and the fun which never flags, while he saw discipline and obedience at the same time. The children went to the play-ground, and to the amazement of the visitor, the teacher ran out, crying, "Hare and hounds! hare and hounds!" taking the first character on himself, he was instantly pursued full cry by the whole pack, round and round the play-ground: at last he was taken and worried by an immense act of co-operation. In his extremity, he rang his hand-bell for school: instantly the hounds quitted their prey, rushed into school, the door being scarcely wide enough for them, and were within a minute as still as a rank of soldiers, seated in their gallery, and busy with the multiplication table. The visitor went away with a shrug, muttering, "Na, the like o' that I ne'er saw!"

Many pages might be filled with anecdotes illustrative of the beneficial effects of the system in preventing the numerous fears, follies, envyings, discontents, and prejudices, which render the lower classes so intractable. The superstitious fear of ghosts, witches, &c. is practically removed. A person informed Mr. Wright, that as he was crossing a churchyard, not without the habitual dread which from his youth he could not separate from the place, he met a little girl of five years old marching through all alone. "Was she not afraid?" "Not a bit: we learn at the Infant School that ghosts and all that is nonsense." All dirty, gross, destructive, selfish, and insolent habits are proscribed, and carefully prevented; and above all, *whiskey* is held up as the greatest of curses to society, and many a lesson is taught of its effects on both mind and body.—The children heard with much indignation, of a crowd in the street insulting a poor Turk—of some boys who teazed an idiot—of the mob breaking windows on occasion of the illumination—and of the people maltreating the doctors for their kindness in trying to cure the cholera.

N. B. It is unnecessary to give examples of the effect of Intellectual Practice, as there is less novelty in children being trained to acuteness and sagacity; and much of this is capable of exhibition to the public, which is not possible, on set occasions, with proofs of moral advancement. The results in this department, it may, however, be mentioned, are most satisfactory.

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From the New-York Mirror.

### Social Intercourse.

BY LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY.

The style of social intercourse established by families and neighborhoods has a strong influence on the unformed character of children. Naturally gregarious, the expansion of the social principle gives them pleasure. They receive their most vivid impressions through the senses; and there is a consent of the senses, in the satisfaction which awaits the coming of a guest. The cheerful preparation which they see,—the agreeable additions to the table, the putting on of the best robe, the smiling face of the welcomed friend, the kind words addressed to themselves, cause their little hearts to swell with delight.

Neither is this sharing of their good things with others an inert precept in moral regimen. It fosters a simple form of benevolence, and helps to extirpate those lesser plants of selfishness, which have a quick growth in the moist, rich soil of infancy. Children sometimes see their parents extending the rites of hospitality to the sick friend, or the sorrowful stranger; and they imbibe that class of deeper sympathies, which flow forth toward the homeless and the poor. Nor are these lessons of love to their race of little value. The happiness learned from seeing others happy, is better than that which is derived from solitary acquisition. The pleasure thus reflected from the smile of a guest is one of the rudiments of benevolence.

Permit your young children, therefore, whenever it is proper, to share the warmth of an unceremonious hospitality. For this reason, as well as for others still more important, be strenuous to secure for them the privileges of a *home*. The custom, so prevalent in our larger cities, of abandoning housekeeping, and becoming lodgers, either in public hotels or private families, is fraught with evils. When such an arrangement is the result of necessity, it should be submitted to, like any other form of adversity: but if parents could, by any additional economy, or increase of personal exertion, maintain their own table and family altar, they should do it for the sake of their little ones. However small may be the nest where their new-fledged offspring are nurtured, no matter, if they can only brood over it with their own wing. Under the roof of another, the husband and father can neither command the respect, or exercise the authority, which are his prerogatives; nor the wife exhibit, before those who fashion themselves after model, the full beauty and energy of conjugal and maternal example.—But especially are young children restrained in their freedom and happiness, and compelled to feel somewhat of the melancholy distrust of strangers and exiles. Instead of being cheered, by seeing their parents, like the fixed stars, diffusing blessings to the remotest satellite, they behold them, like wandering planets, seeking light and heat from others; or perhaps, like comets, whose true rotation has never been calculated, careering through and perplexing other systems.

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### A Ground Swell.

The sudden disruption of extensive fields of ice is sometimes produced by that powerful tendency of the sea to undulation of the surface, communicated by the motions of the adjoining liquid surface of the ocean during a continued storm, which is denominated a *ground swell*.—The ice, when thin, merely yields; but, if thick and little flexible, it is broken with tremendous noise. A very interesting account of such a phenomenon is given by a party of missionaries who passed along the coast of Labrador in sledges drawn by dogs. They narrowly escaped destruction; but were near enough to witness all its grandeur. "The missionaries met a sledge with Esquimaux turning in from the sea, who threw out some hints that it might be as well for them to return. After some time, their own Esquimaux hinted that there was a ground swell under the ice. It was then scarcely perceptible, except on lying down and applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow disagreeable grating noise was heard ascending from the abyss. As the motion of the sea under the ice had grown more perceptible, they became alarmed, and began to think it prudent to keep close to the shore. The ice also had fissures in many places, some of which formed chasms of one or two feet; but as these are not uncommon even in its best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, they are frightful only to strangers. As the wind rose to a storm, the swell had now increased so much that its effects on the ice were extraordinary, and really alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding smoothly along as on an even surface, sometimes ran with violence after the dogs, and sometimes seemed with difficulty to ascend a rising hill. Noises, too, were now distinctly heard in many directions like the report of cannon, from the bursting of the ice at a distance. Alarmed by these frightful phenomena, our travellers drove with all haste towards the shore; and as they approached it, the prospect before them was tremendous. The ice, having burst loose from the rocks, was tossed to and fro, and broken in a thousand pieces against the precipices with a dreadful noise; which, added to the raging of the sea, the roaring of the wind, and the driving of the snow, so completely overpowered them as almost to deprive them of the use of both of their eyes and ears. To make the land was now the only resource that remained; but it was with the utmost difficulty that the frightened dogs could be driven forward; and as the whole body of the ice frequently sunk below the summits of the rocks, and then rose above them, the only time for landing was the moment it gained the level of the coast,—a circumstance which rendered the attempt extremely nice and hazardous. Both sledges, however, succeeded in gained the shore, and were drawn up on the beach, though not without great difficulty. Scarcely had they reached it, when that part of the ice from which they had just escaped burst asunder, and the water, rushing up from beneath, instantly precipitated it from the ocean. In a moment, as if by signal, the whole mass of ice for several miles along the coast, and extending as far as the eye could reach, began to break and to be overwhelmed with the waves. The spectacle was awfully grand. The immense fields of ice rising out of the ocean, clashing against one another, and then plunging into the deep with a violence which no language can describe, and a noise like the discharge of a thousand cannon, was a sight which must have struck the most unreflecting mind with solemn awe. The brethren were overwhelmed with amazement at their miraculous escape; and even the pagan Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God for their deliverance."

*Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography.*

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[1] Brown's History of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 55.

### Effects of War.

An enlightened Humanity is to be regarded as one of the elements, and we may add, one of the marked and prominent elements of high civilization. It will avail but little, that the arts and literature are cultivated, and that civil institutions are erected on just and liberal principles, if the heart is at the same time to be infected with strife and cruelty. Can that be regarded as truly a civilized state, where men disregard the ties of nature, resist the appeals of suffering, and learn to sneer at scenes and situations, over which unbiassed nature would weep! But war always sooner or later leads to this; it tends, beyond all question, to restrict and to crush the operation of all the kindly sensibilities. It is said of Frederick the Great, that during the war, which he made against the queen of Hungary, he one night gave orders that every light in his camp should be extinguished by eight o'clock. Walking out at that time, in order to see for himself if all were dark, he noticed a light in the tent of a Captain Zeitern. He entered the tent, just as that officer was folding up a letter "Zeitern knew him, and instantly fell on his knees to entreat his mercy. The king asked him to whom he had been writing. He answered that it was a letter to his wife, in order to finish which he had retained the candle a few moments. Frederic coolly ordered him to rise and write one line more, which he would dictate. This line was to inform his wife, without any explanation, that by such an hour the next day, he should be executed. The letter was then sealed, and Frederic himself took charge of having it conveyed; and the next day the captain was shot!"[*]

Is this civilization, or rather utter and unmitigated barbarism? It will be said, perhaps, that war has its *necessities*. We grant it. But the question here is, not whether there are necessities in war, but what are the results of those necessities? Do these necessities tend to promote or to depress civilization; to render men humane and benevolent, or hard-hearted and cruel in the highest degree?

Look again at one, with whom this same Frederic was unpiously associated in the dismemberment of Poland, the empress Catharine of Russia. "The cruelties, the massacres, executed by the Russian Commanders, under the express orders of their ruthless and blood-stained sovereign, the female Tiberius of modern times, make humanity shudder. Not content with the torrents of blood shed by her own semi-barbarous armies, she also incited the Zaporavians, a tribe of the most atrocious banditti, who dwelt among the cataracts of the Borysthenes, to massacre the Poles in the Ukraine. These wretches, who lived by blood and rapine, were too happy, with the prospect of impunity, to execute the wishes of the empress. The Ukraine was entirely laid waste, and the inhabitants put to death by means of the most inhuman and revolting tortures. The lowest calculation of the number of human beings, who lost their lives in this indiscriminate massacre, is 50,00; the highest, 200,000."[†]

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[*] Ladd's Essays on Peace and War, No. 15. Foster's Essay on Decision of Character, Let. V.

[†] Dover's Frederic, Book V., who refers here for his authority to Rulhiere's Anarchie de la Pologne.

If a person wishes to know, whether war is, or is not destructive of those feelings of humanity and benevolence, which constitute so prominent an element of civilization, let him read the history of the wars, occasioned by the efforts of the Netherlands to secure their independence. Such was the complete demoralization attendant upon this war, that the Spaniards, in often repeated instances, threw their Dutch prisoners overboard, who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands at sea. This greatly exasperated the Dutch; so much so, that the States General gave order to Haultain, one of their naval commanders, to retaliate in the same cruel manner. It was not long before this officer took some Spanish soldiers, whom he found on board of certain English and German vessels; and in obedience to his orders, *five companies of them were tied together in pairs, and at a signal given were thrown alive into the ocean.**

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* Roman's Annals of the Troubles in the Netherlands, Vol. II. p. 54.

*Law.*—English—see Hocus Pocus, and Chicanery. The following character, or rather sentence of condemnation was pronounced upon it, by one well acquainted with his subject, the lecturer over the remains of the late Jeremy Bentham. In answer to the question, what is this boasted English law, which, as we have been told for ages, renders us the envy and admiration of surrounding nations, he replies, "The substantive part of it, whether as written in books or expounded by judges, a chaos, fathomless and boundless; the huge and monstrous mass being made up of fiction, tautology, technicality, circuity, irregularity, and inconsistency; the *administrative* part of it, a system of exquisitely contrived chicanery; a system made up of abuses; a system which constantly places the interest of the judicial minister in opposition to his duty; so places his interest in opposition to his duty, that in the very proportion in which it serves his ends, it defeats the ends of justice; a system of self-authorized and unpunishable depredation; a system which encourages mendacity, both by reward and punishment; a system which puts fresh arms into the hands of the injurer, to annoy and distress the injured; in a word, a system which maximises delay, sale, and denial of justice." And yet, what an outcry was raised by the disinterested reverers of our time-hallowed institutions, when Lord Brougham attempted to sweep some of the filth from the mere margin of this sink of iniquity. His reforms were too rough, forsooth. They would have him cleanse the Augean stable with a white cambric handkerchief.

Most lawsuits are a juggle, whose sole object seems to be the plunder of both plaintiff and defendant by the prolongation of their quarrel. "Strange," says Old Fuller in his "Worthies," "that reason continuing always the same, law, grounded thereon, should be capable of so great alteration." It is *not* grounded upon reason, but upon the artifices of pettifoggers, and therefore its perversions and metamorphoses are infinite. *In Republica corruptissima plurima leges.* When Justinian compiled his Institutes, the writings on the civil law alone amounted to many camel loads. *Ours* may be reckoned by ship loads, and the money annually expended upon law and lawyers, (not upon justice) may be counted by millions.—Such is the magnitude and vitality of this hundred headed Hydra, that we may well doubt the power of Lord Brougham to crush it, even though he dip his arrows in the monster's gall. Hercules as he is, he will find it difficult to outlaw the lawyers.—*The Tin Trumpet.*

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### Force not essential to Government.

BY M. GUIZOT.

Let us quit religion for a moment, and turn to civil governments. Trace with me, I beseech you, the simple march of circumstances. Society exists. Something is to be done, no matter what, in its name and for its interest; a law has to be executed, some measure to be adopted, a judgment to be pronounced. Now, certainly,—there is a proper method of supplying these social wants; there is a proper law to make, a proper measure to adopt, a proper judgment to pronounce. Whatever may be the matter in hand, whatever may be the interest in question, there is, upon every occasion, a truth which must be discovered,—and which ought to decide the matter, and govern the conduct to be adopted.

The first business of government is to seek this truth, is to discover what is just, reasonable, and suitable to society. When this is found, it is proclaimed: the next business is to introduce it to the public mind; to get it approved by the men upon whom it is to act; to persuade them that it is reasonable. In all this is there anything coercive? Not at all. Suppose now that the truth which ought to decide upon the affair, no matter what; suppose, I say, that the truth being found and proclaimed, all understandings should be at once convinced: all wills at once determined;—that all should acknowledge that the government was right, and obey it spontaneously. There is nothing yet of compulsion, no occasion for the employment of force. Does it follow then that a government does not exist? Is there nothing of government in all this? To be sure there is, and it has accomplished its task. Compulsion appears not till the resistance of individuals calls for it—till the idea, the decision which authority has adopted, fails to obtain the approbation or the voluntary submission of all. Then government employs force to make itself obeyed. This is a necessary *consequence* of human imperfection;—an imperfection which resides as well in power as in society. There is no way of entirely avoiding this; civil governments will always be obliged to have recourse, to a certain degree, to compulsion. Still it is evident they are not made up of compulsion, because, whenever they can, they are glad to do without it, to the great blessing of all; and their highest point of perfection is to be able to discard it, and to trust to means purely moral, to their influence upon the understanding: so that, in proportion as government can dispense with compulsion and force, the more faithful it is to its true nature, and the better it fulfils the purpose for which it is sent. This is not to shrink, this is not to give way, as people commonly call cry out; it is merely acting in a different manner, in a manner much more general and powerful. Those governments which employ the most compulsion perform much less than those which scarcely ever have recourse to it. Government, by addressing itself to the understanding, by engaging the free will of its subjects, by acting by means purely intellectual, instead of contracting, expands and elevates itself; it is then that it accomplishes most, and attains to the grandest objects. On the contrary, it is when a government is obliged to be constantly employing its physical arm that it becomes weak and restrained—that it does little, and does that little badly.

The essence of government then by no means resides in compulsion, in the exercise of brute force; it consists more especially of a system of means and powers, conceived for the purpose of discovering upon all occasions what is best to be done, for the purpose of discovering the truth which by right ought to govern society, for the purpose of persuading all men to acknowledge this truth, to adopt and respect it willingly and freely. Thus I think I have shown that the necessity for, and the existence of a government, are very conceivable, even though there should be no room for compulsion, even though it should be absolutely forbidden.

This is exactly the case in the government of religious society. There is no doubt but compulsion is here strictly forbidden; there can be no doubt, as its only territory is the conscience of man, but that every species of force must be illegal, whatever may be the end designed.—But government does not exist the less on this account. It still has to perform all the duties which we have just now enumerated. It is incumbent upon it to seek out the religious doctrines which resolve the problems of human destiny; or if a general system of faith beforehand exists, in which these problems are already resolved, it will be its duty to discover and set forth its consequences in each particular case. It will be its duty to promulgate and maintain the precepts which correspond to its doctrines. It will be its duty to preach them, to teach them,—and, if society wanders from them, to bring it back again to the right path. No compulsion; but the investigation, the preaching, the teaching of religious truths; the administering to religious wants; admonishing; censuring; this is the task which religious government has to perform.—Suppress all force and coercion as much as you desire, still you will see all the essential questions connected with the organization of a government present themselves before you, and demand a solution. The question, for example, whether a body of religious magistrates is necessary, or whether it is possible to trust to the religious inspiration of individuals? This question, which is a subject of debate between most religious societies and that of the Quakers, will always exist, it must always remain a matter of discussion Again, granting a body of religious magistrates to be necessary, the question arises whether a system of equality is to be preferred, or an hierarchal constitution—a graduated series of powers? This question will not cease because you take from the ecclesiastical magistrates, whatever they may be, all means of compulsion. Instead then of dissolving religious society in order to have the right to destroy religious government, it must be acknowledged that religious society forms itself naturally, that religious government flows no less naturally from religious society, and that the problem to be solved is on what conditions this government ought to exist, on what it is based, what are its principles, what the conditions of its legitimacy? This is the investigation which the existence of religious government as of all others, compels us to undertake.

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*Books*—prohibited. Attempting to put the sun of reason into a dark lantern, that its mighty blaze may be hidden or revealed, according to the will of some purblind despot. When W. S. R. published his admirable "Letters from the North of Italy," they were found so little palatable to the Austrian emperor, that they were prohibited throughout his dominions. This honour the author appreciated as he ought, only regretting that the interdict would prevent his sending copies to some of his Italian friends; a difficulty, however, which was soon overcome. Cancelling the original title page, he procured a new one to be printed, which ran as follows:—"A treatise upon Sour Krout, with full directions for its preparation, and remarks upon its medicinal properties." On their arrival at the frontiers, the inspector compared the books with the Index Expurgatorius, but as he did not find any imperial anathema against sour krout, they were forwarded without further scrutiny, and safely reached their respective destinations.

Rabelais said, that all the bad books ought to be bought, because they would not be reprinted; a hint which has not been thrown away upon our Bibliomanians, who seem to forget, that, since the invention of printing, no good book has ever become scarce.—*The Tin Trumpet.*

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*Child*—Spoilt—An unfortunate victim, who proves the weakness of his parents' judgment,—much more forcibly than the strength of their affection. Doomed to feel by daily experience, that a blind love is as bad as a clear-sighted hatred, the spoilt child, when he embitters the life of those who have poisoned his, is not so much committing an act of ingratitude, as of retributive justice. Is it not natural that he should love those too little, who by loving him too much have proved themselves his worst enemies? How can we expect him to be a blessing to us, when we have been a curse to him? It is the awarded and just punishment of a weak over-indulgence, that the more we fondle a spoilt child, the more completely shall we alienate him, as an arrow flies the farther from us the closer we draw it to our bosom.

As a gentle hint to others similarly annoyed, we record the rebuke of a visiter, to whom a mother expressed her apprehension that he was disturbed by the crying of her spoilt brat.—"Not at all, Madam," was the reply; "I am always delighted to hear such children cry." "Indeed! why so?" "Because in all well-regulated families, they are immediately sent out of the room."

*Ibid.*

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*Lawyers*—generally know too much of law to have a very clear perception of justice, just as divines are often too deeply read in theology, to appreciate the full grandeur and the proper tendencies of religion. Losing the abstract in the concrete, the comprehensive in the technical, the principal in its accessories, both are in the predicament of the rustic, who could not see London for the houses.

It has been invidiously said, that lawyers pass their time in taking advantage of their contemporaries; but if we may credit the authority of Foote, they sometimes outwit the undertaker even after their death. That facetious person being once summoned into the country, by the relatives of a respectable practitioner, to whom he had been appointed executor, was asked what directions should be given respecting the funeral? "What may be your practice in the country,"—said the wag, "I do not exactly know; but in London, when a lawyer dies, his body is disposed of in a very cheap and simple manner. We lock it up in a room over night, and by the next morning it has always totally disappeared. Whither it has been conveyed we cannot tell to a certainty; but there is invariably such a strong smell of brimstone in the chamber, that we can form a shrewd guess at the character of the conveyancer."

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*Posthumous Glory*—A revenue payable to our ghosts; an *ignis fatuus*: an exhalation arising from the ashes and corruption of the body; the glow-worm of the grave; a Jack-o'-lantern, of which a skeleton is the Jack, and the lantern a dark one; protracted oblivion; the short twilight that survives the setting of the vital sun, and is presently quenched in the darkness of night.—"Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust," may be said of our fame, as well as of our frame: one is buried very soon after the other. When the rattling earth is cast upon our coffin, it sends up a hollow sound, which, after a few faint echoes, dies, and is buried in oblivious silence. That fleeting noise is our posthumous renown. Living glory is the advantage of being known to those whom you don't know; posthumous glory is enjoying a celebrity from which you can derive no enjoyment, and enabling every puppy in existence to feel his superiority over you by repeating the old dictum, that a living dog is better than a dead lion, or by quoting from Shakspeare—"I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath!"

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*Breath.*—Air received into the lungs by many young men of fashion, for the important purposes of smoking a cigar, and whistling a tune.

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*Brief*—The excuse of counsel for an impertinence that is often inexcusable.

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*Ceremony.*—All that is considered necessary by many in religion and friendship.